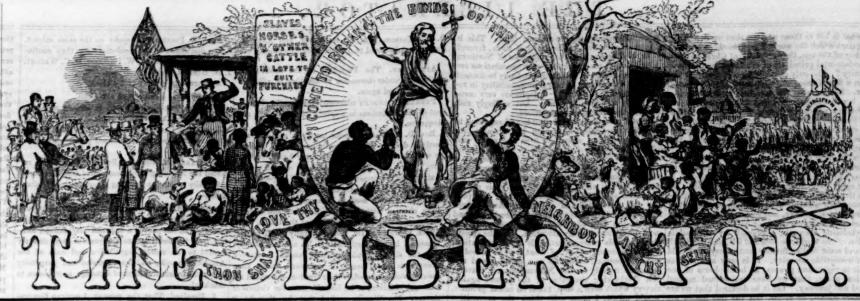
EGEERT P. WALLCUT, General Agent. TERMS - Two dollars and fifty cents per un

Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN LARS, if payment be made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters ing to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to

brected, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square inand three times for 75 cents - one square for \$1.00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetta, sylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Sogies are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE

ommittee, but are not responsible for any of the he of the paper, viz: - FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS



The United States Constitution is 'A covenant with

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

death, and an agreement with hell."

The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are withou excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an enrighteous yoke. On this subject, our PATHERS, IN FRANING THE CONSTITUTION, SWEEVED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looknas long been tonding, and the time has come for look-ing at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending. - WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXVII. NO. 6.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1857.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1361

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

THE BLACK LIST.

We publish to-day, for the benefit of the comners of a call for a convention to take place in the loth of January, to take what steps they consider most feasible for the dissolution of Union. We trust that the committee of ars have not overlooked any one in this city se ideas coincide with theirs in this respect, for sign such a call, to come out and show themselves,

pon their congeners in South Carolina, who undoubtedly have signed the call had they an dandaucely offered them. There are a great many stes in that State, who also believe the 'Union a failure,' and who would be very happy to see Why not let them come into the con nvitation? We are not foolish enough from this, or from as many more conventions of the from this, or from as many more conventions of the hid as may hereafter be held, but the principle in-reled is none the less atrocious and abominable. That he will and spirit of this band of mischievous That the will and spirit of this band of mischievous fauties, designing demagogues, and weak-minded printualists, is strong enough and mean enough to bring ruin and catastrophe upon the country, no cas will doubt, but the more healthy sentiment of the community renders their exertions impotent. It is to be regretted that on this roll of infamy is to be found the names of some citizens, who chould be in better business, but as it is, they must bur all the odium which will hereafter be heaped greather. Dog Tay was once found in bad comapon them. Dog Tray was once found in bad com-Black lines are drawn around the list.]

Democratic papers, North and South, please copy. -Worcester Bay State.

On the 15th day of January, A. D., 1857, a set definition. Lord, forgive them, for they know his what they do!! There is Fayal Higginson, with the wound in his head yet gaping, apparently wholly unconscious that when the brains were out, the man would die. There are the dealers in lumrand in cheap domestics; water doctors and newsapt pedlers; patrons of needy widows and senti-estal drapers and clothiers; each and all inten-pa kindling their farthing candle upon the sacri-al altar of the Union. Emersonian school-teachidaltar of the Union. Emersonian school-teach-and niggers; city architects, civil and un-civil givers; professional and scrub dentists; men and under the eaves of the Old South he ever land under the eaves of the Old South hard, that they may place a saw-horse thereon to starb the congregation—and their compeers, whose ds area admit any ambition loftier than that of making the bouchhole at a Damocratic salute; his gas-fitters and black scavengers; in fine, all Pharaoh's lean kine, metamorphosed, into the blance of humanity, and credited by an exceed-charity with the possession of its attributes; smisrable and irresponsible gang crowd up to entertainment, promising themselves a hearty

la fact, upon examining the list of signatures, we ad that discrimination is impossible. Main street al Pins madow kiss each other, the Moire Antique of the original fig-leaf fraternise. It is all one—nite and black,—niggers and merchant tailors; lever and the reporter of last autumn's muster; all of the property of the street of the st stall-fol restaurateurs and Main street silk mer-chants. The mania for Disunion is rampant, and the name of its advocates legion.—*Ibid*.

DISSOLVING VIEWS .- The Disunion Convention bild here yesterday was a most marked, successful failure. Small in numbers, originating nothing new. [ractical, or useful, it met without any definite rpss and closed without accomplishing anything.
Union may possibly be dissolved sometime, but ice of anything that these folks can

The principal business of most of the speakers The principal business of most of the speakers sensed to be to annihilate Hon. Henry Wilson, but we think he will live notwithstanding, to do much god service yet in the anti-clavery cause. The puple of Worcester do not sympathize with those who composed this disunion assemblage, and cared so little about it, that even curiosity did not draw out a respectable attendance of speciators. Let the out a respectable attendance of spectators. Let the Disunionists slide.—Worcester Transcript.

SEVATOR WILSON AND THE DISUNIONISTS .- A few Northern ultraists, who go for the dissolution of the laion, as do the Southern Brookess, Keitts, Jeft. Darises, Wises, and other model 'Democrats' of the cana, as do the Southern Brookses, Keitts, Jeff. hariss, Wises, and other model 'Democrats' of the molern school, held a convention at Worcester, Masachusetts, last week. They made some rabid geoches, and passed some rabid resolutions: but we believe that, at the time the convention adjourned, the Union still stood. The chief speakers abosed flow. Henry Wilson and other Republican leaders ary much in the style of the sham Democratic orners and presses—very much in the style of John S. Wells, and the New Hampshire Patriot. The Committee of Arrangements of this Hammellitish convention in a patriotic letter, which not only shows his own mode position as that of a statesman devotedly attached to the 'Union of these States,' but also that if the great Republican party, as one which loves be Union, and will maintain it against all the machinations of 'Democratic' or other traitors. Load his letter.—Independent (N. H.) Democrat.

OCLIFICATION IN M. C. LAST Week, a convention was held occester. Mass., to take measures to dissolve nion. We can assure our friends, that, unless taken to the can assure our friends, that, unless that the can assure our friends. Caion. We can assure our friends, that, untessiblent and inflammatory appeals in some of our the riblent and inflammatory appeals in some of our spers on the subject of slavery are stopped, the day in hot far distant when the public mind will be ripe for an overt act of treason to the Union. When the public mind has become accustomed to hear negrotations ranked with the American heroes of Bunker Rill, and been brought to believe that our Constitutional obligations are not binding, the traitorous caps to sever the confederacy will be natural and the second service of the confederacy will be natural and the second service of the second second service of the second seco the a remarkable fact, that the most vaccine pulpping against slavery are now written and published by those who have spent 'their best days' in atmosting the party that, for the last twenty years, has been continually extending it.

It is high time that the friends of the Union, in the Republication of the Union and the Republication of the Union of the Republication of the Republica

the Republican ranks, formed an undivided front in restaing the dangerous sentiments with which reneaded from the Democratic ranks are striving to impregnate the Republican party. It is our duty to maintain the Constitution in its integrity, as well as to prevent the extension of slavery by force and france. Let us, then, unite in displayaring our whole had. Let us, then, unite in discharging our whole day.—Paterson (N. J.) Independent Democrat.

BOSTON, PRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1857. WHOLE NUMBER, 1361

The street of the principle of the pr

Y 30.

s fever, billous colic, edium dose of three by two or three in s, will remove the ked to suffer such

O., HNG, Boston;

cord, N. H.; D12 6m Arts. the reception of

d rooms, each 210 tential new brick designed to be a x, on the follow-

ion to one person.
will be admitted ption to continue, d and kept in oritting one person,

tion to the public cupied, of which

should make im-SUPERINTENDENT, be exhibited, and erainally, at the neoln streets, ex-AY, Proprietor.

nstitution, OMIBES. compact; or, Ex-etc. Selected by n, Enlarged. 12 y the American 21 Cornhill, Bos-ces in New York 50 cts.; in thick

w mail on the re-its postage, viz., overs, sixty cents i-Slavery Office, treet, N. Y.

entist, formerly r Street, resider

of the sesson, is of UGH BASS. visits pupils

CHOOL. ill commence on ars, &c., please

Principals.

DETTER FROM REV. DR. BELLOWS. New York, January 6th, 1857.

Mr DEAR Sin: Your invitation to me to partici-ate in the Convention at Worcester, on Thursday, pate in the Convention at Worcester, on Luciality, January 15th, called 'to consider the practicability, probability, and expediency of a separation between the free and slave States, and to take such measures the condition of the times may require,' has been as the condition of the times may require, received, and is respectfully declined.

As you are kind enough to ask some commun m me, I seize the privilege of stating very frankly the reasons why I cannot join your Convettion, and I am the more anxious to do this, been tion, and I am the more anxious to up the you base your invitation, not merely on my 'get al position, but upon the fearless treatment of subject of the Union' in my published sermor and the up that it is not continued in the c on' in my published sermon November 2d. As I took no ground then not care fully measured, or from which I wish to recede and then not care hair, it seems important, when my opinions attract the notice of a conscientious and intelligent body like yours, to have it distinctly understood what they are, and how entirely they differ from

those of Disunionists.

For among these, if I mistake not, your Conven-For among these, it I mistake not, your conven-tion deliberately places itself. This might not ap-pear from the closing paragraph of your call already quoted; but it is plainly intimated in the third para-graph, in which you declare yourselves as 'believ-ing the existing Union to be a failure, as being a ing the existing Union to be a failure, as being a hopeless attempt to unite under one government two antagonistic systems of society, which diverge more widely every year.' nvention, then, meets 'to consider the

practicability, probability, and expediency of a separation between the free and slave States, 'with its mind made up that the Union is a failure, and its coherence an impossibility. Of course, then, you its coherence an impossibility. Of course, then, y are Disunionists, and your only question can how is the safest and shortest manner to cut our Northern vessel of State loose from her Couthern consort, condemned by you as smitten with plague, consort, concenned by your as sinteen with plagues, and leaking at every seam—but at present lashed to our side, and badly intertangled with our rigging. You have a right to consider and debate this question of separation, and with your views I see not how you can avoid it. Certainly, I will lend no countenance to the political superstition which makes this topic too sacred for light or touch. I protest against the Atheism which sets the Union above Reason, Morality, Religion. Nor, on the other hand, am I so weak of faith in the Union, as to fear debate about its worth and durability, or to imagine that it has suffered from the hands of socalled fanatics, or will crumble under the resolutions all the intelligent and conscientious men you can or all the intelligent and conscientious men you can unite in Massachusetts, in pronouncing it 'a failure.'

But I am not a Disunionist. I do not think the Union a failure. I do not think the effort hopeless, 'to unite the North and the South.' I do not think

the country on the way to a rapid increase of hostil

ity between the two sections of the Union.
On the contrary, and despite the dreadful drawback and mortification of slavery, I think the Union a great and admirable success. Notwithstandin the injury which slavery has done the political Notwithstandin and moral interests of the nation, who conomic, and moral interests of the conference, worth, repute, and power of the Confederacy, have immensely exceeded the best hopes of our federal founders? Whatever it might be under the very different circumstances in which locomotive arts now place us, there can be no question that the South, by her territory, climate, industry, rivers, now place us, there can be no question that the South, by her territory, climate, industry, rivers, statesmanship, patriotism, has contributed her fair share—though in a different line from the North— to this common prosperity; and is entitled to our fraternal consideration for her past services in the general interest. If now she see m socially enfeebled, nd threatened with internal convulsion by culiar institution,' I see no reason for deserting her. even should she long resist our moral and economic appeals touching the source of her troubles. We have derived, as a nation, great blessings from her statesmen, her industry, her very errors and misfor-tunes; and it would be ungrateful and selfish in us to abandon her at a moment when local pride and blinded self-interest madden her to propose separa-

tion from us.

The integrity of our National area is a just source of patriotic pride and devotion. To behold thirty millions of people speaking one language over three hundred millions of square miles—stretching 'as far hundred millions of square miles—stretching 'as far as the East is from the West,' and the regions of perpetual snow from those of eternal summer—ye meeting at one centre for their laws, owning on flag, and honoring one Constitution-is too rare, too promising, too glorious a spectacle, to allow any patriot to see the faintest chalk-mark of division frawn through it, hinting the line which customhouses, soldiery, and legalized jealousies may after-wards engrave—without bitter tears of sorrow and

No : I cannot unite with you in calling the Union a failure. Nor do I think the effort hopeless to keep the North and the South united. For, must we regard slavery as the sole and permanent interest of the South? I detest that institution too heartily; believe it too plainly opposed to the will of God, and the interests of any region or people; hold too strong a faith in the power of reason, free discus-sion, and democratic institutions, to believe that the South will not presently begin to see the folly and Liberty and slavery are irreconcilable; but the North and South represent something more than cither—a common blood, common heroes and patriots, a common constitution, a common country We are bound together by something stronger than the love of liberty, or the hatred of slavery—by general interests, affections and habits, a common gin, and an identical history. Slavery and freedom cannot live permanently together; and this is the reason why the North and the South should—that the liberty of the one may extinguish the slavery of the other. Do you reply, that the victim may chance to be liberty? Then, I answer, if the free States, with the power in their own hands. keep slavery in its constitutional place while they remain in the Union, they have little reason for thinking they can defend themselves from its overthey can defend themselves from its over ald they go out of the Union. I am in fa vor of the Union, ecause I love the South, and hate slavery for her sake; in favor of the Union, beca ion which now upholds slavery can as easily -and more humanely and successfully than any oth er power-stop its extension, and so, perhaps, de

The free States have the power, and have awaye had the power to keep slavery within its limits—which at any time would probably be death to it in as short a period as it could perish in with advantage to whites and blacks. What could be expected from the South, considering the lukewarm feeling and selfish behavior of the North in regard to the subject, but the pushing of its self-indulgent, hereditary system of slavery—suddenly grown vastly profitable—to the utmost limits of our good-nature, indifference and cowardice, or, still worse, of our complicity with its hopes of a gain we shared? The North is really far more to blame than the South for the extension of slavery. The Stable 1985. North is really far more to blame than the South for the extension of slavery. The South had no power to extend it without our consent; we had full power to prevent that extension without its consent; we have always had the power, and only wanted the will. We have it still, and are bound to exercise it. We had it at the last election, and did not use if because we have those among us who do not hate slavery, and do not love liberty; who believe not in our institutions, and only believe in our Union, be cause it keeps things as they are.

The last election, however, has shown that the

The free States have the power, and have always

North is waking up in conscience, courage, and sensibility to her duty, not to herself alone, but to the Nation, the Union, and Humanity. The astonishing effect of the free press in arousing the people, indicates what will be the triumph of another election. The South sees for the first time that the North is in earnest, feels its power, and is determining to exercise it. And this is having an admirable effect upon the discussion of the subject.

It has already forced the intellectual leaders and active statesmen of the South to intrench themselves in a position of absolute defiance to the public opinion of the world. They have been driven for opinion of the world. They have been driven for the first time to a step—the next to complete sur-render—i.e., the assertion of a code of morals, and a style of reasoning, entirely and exclusively their own, and which makes them moral and rational outlaws from the public morality of Christendom. What are the leaders of the Southern press, but intellectual pirates and moral fillibusters? They have been compelled to take the ground that slavery is no sin, and no misfortuno—a righteous, naeful, beneficent institution, deserving heroic defence, national adoption, and unlimited extension. tional adoption, and unlimited extension. The great ability, logical candor, manifed extension. The great ability, logical candor, manly audacity, and even moderation of manner with which these propositions have been maintained, have excited my intense ad-miration. Would that the other and better side had been sustained with equal strength and calmness!

men seem in a perfect equipoise of rights and powers, until the turning of the scale has unhapping come to be regarded as a matter of acceleration of the tainty, of nice maneouver, or of bargain and com-

To meet this state of things within my own lim

ited sphere of influence and responsibility, I main-tained in the last campaign, and in my own pulpit in the sermon to which you refer, the duty of re-sisting the extension of slavery at the risk of the Union; and to embolden those who regarded this

consequence as probable, I gave some reasons for thinking disunion, if forced upon us by the with-

drawal of the South, a more supportable calamity to the North, than those who were trying to frighten Free Soilers from their Republicanism had repre-

ented it. But I was very far from expressin esire for disunion, or from advocating separat

which I have never thought practicable, probable or expedient. It was as a threat from the South, that I braved disunion; not as a proposition from the

North, that I espoused it.

What I desire now and always to maintain is

this: That our conscientious opposition to the ex-tension of slavery is not to be abated or colored by fears for the Union; and that, so far as it depends

on the North, we are to stop its extension, let the

consequences to the Union—to the North or the South—be what they will. This ground I believe to be the safe ground—the Christian, humane,

patriotic, constitutional, unsectional, Union-saving

the United States. I take it as a hater of slavery.

an undying foe to its extension, and a laborer for its overthrow and extinction in the speediest manner and time consistent with our whole duty as Ameri-

And here my letter might fully end, having said

all that strictly belongs to the occasion. But I will venture to add some general observations in support

If there ever was a country in which extreme meas

ares and desperate strokes of policy were forbidden, it is one in which the principle of life is as young and

which we make new and wholesome blood, than any political patient ever before had, as seriously sick as

every year is adding to our population ;

of our agricultural and mechanical classes, with their growing jealousy of cities—the centres of cor-

rupt politics; the enormous power and intelligence which the West is acquiring; the manifest division

of the South into as many schools of pro-slavery feeling as there are at the North of anti-slavery feel-

safety require, and waiting the developments Providence and the future, which press on

forgotten by the

religion, our trade and commerce, have astonished the world and ourselves. They have been very dif-

fest destiny,' but because of the mysterious proclivi-ties of the nation, that I account any interference,

not clearly demanded by duty, with the forces nov

the South is partly illegible. The fate of the Afri-can race is hieroglyphic. Three millions and a half

of people are not to be handled by contrivance; they gravitate with a providential tendency, as yet not

to the Pacific ocean. It is not too much to say that the whole destiny of the Nation depended upon the rapid extension of New England capital and influ-

ence westward, instead of southern and in some out foreign emigration owes its beneficent character and prospects to the connection it has formed with the Northern soil, climate, and ideas. The vast ex-

nded by Mr. Calhoun,

As a nation, our future

The horos

cowardice, sloth

powerfully, and with such promise of

asterly inactivity recomi

cribed now for the North.

at work, impolitic and useless.

maturing. It is neither of

and as fraught with good.

The eight hundred thousand new people

of its main object.

er of the South; as a believer in the future of

But, what is left to those who are shut up in a forteress against which the world is combined? who defy the policy of the ago, the sentiments of Christendom, the fundamental principles of economy, justice and policy of the ago, the sentiments of Christendom, the fundamental principles of economy, justice and policy of the ago, the sentiments of Christendom, the fundamental principles of economy, justice and have been and the policy of the ago, the sentiments of Christendom, the fundamental principles of economy, justice and by their fitnesses, and the tendencies of Northern the policy of the sentiments of surrents. The may be deemed the sent her last biscuit, and may now homorably confess that her position is desperate, and throw herself upon the mercy of the country, and the world. In the sections of the country, and the world. In the hostility between the two sections of the Union. On the contrary, I think the hostility to the first of the first of the first of the first of the first states, and prevent the more again likely to do onything but diminish. To make this certain, nothing is necessary but the maintenance of an absolute determination on the part of the first States, to deay, and resist, and prevent the tenance of an absolute determination on the part of the first States, to deay, and resist, and prevent the manufacture of the first states, and prevent the world, he seen and felt, and the South will and must decline further controversy, and yield to an irresistible necessity. It is only as rivals, as the view of it which most commonly and that is the view of it which most commonly and demanded the policy and destiny, and this hatred will and must decline further controversy, and yield to an irresistible necessity. It is only as rivals, as equals in rights and powers, as hemispheres of one political globe, that we have maintained mutual hatred and jealousy. Left it be declared that we are not mere equals, or rivals, but the free States are the national policy and destiny, and this hatred will decase.

with these sentiments, I cannot join your Conrention, for I prefixes none of the articles of faith
upon which your call is founded. But as a friend
of free debate, and a respecter of conscientious convictions, however unpopular or unwise, I wish you
unlimited liberty of discussion, and anticipate no
harm from your conferences to the Republic.

With the higest personal respect, yours truly,

HENRY W. BELLOWS. Rev. Mr. Higginson of the Worcester Convention

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 6, 1857.

EDITORIAL ABSENCE. We shall be absent from ou editorial post for two or three weeks-attending Anti-Slavery Conventions in Rochester, Syracuse, Utica, Albany, &c. During that time, THE LIBERATOR will he under the care and supervision of our esteemed and faithful coadjutor, Mr. CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

Such a 'Refuge of Oppression' as we lay be fore our readers this week !-covering the whole o our first page, and representing every political phase -Whig, Democratic, Know-Nothing, Republican Radical Political Abolition,'-the Boston Courie and Frederick Douglass's Paper fraternising, and pro pounding the same objections,-and all professing devotion and loyalty to 'our glorious Union,' though ready enough to tear out each other's eyes !

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHU-SETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Massacut vigorous as in our own. In youth, medicine and sur-gery are poor substitutes for the vis medicatrix na-tura; and we have no more reason to depend on the strength of our constitution, and the rapidity with SETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was held in this city on Thursday and Friday, Jan. 29th and 30th, com ecing at the Meionaon, Tremont street, at 104 A. M. of Thursday.

FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Society, at that hour called the meeting to order, and proposed the the following, in behalf of the Committee of Arrange

the surprises and variations which our novel political state is ever springing upon us; the close relations into which we are suddenly coming with the Old World; the substantial and practical character Hodges, Henry C. Wright.

Assistant Secretaries-Samuel May, Jr., Charles K. Whipple. Committee to nominate Officers for the ensuing year Edmund Quincy, of Dedham; Alvan Howes, of

g—all these considerations suggest the wisdom of Barnstable; William Ashby, of Newburyport; Joshua ing nothing more than our absolute duty and H. Robbins, of Weymouth; Charles F. Hovey, of Boston; Lewis McLauthlin, of Pembroke; Thomas P. Knox, of Boston; Effingham L. Capron, of Wor cester; James N. Buffum, of Lynn; William Whiting, of Concord; John Clement, of Townsend, Committee on Finance-Lewis Ford, E. D. Draper

has always been unpredictable, because our circum-stances are purely original. Nothing has happened as our founders prophesied and hoped. We have have The recommendation of the Committee of Arrangeents was unanimously adopted, and the

enormous energies, passions and ed to their respective offices. opportunities which a new world and an emancipa-ted common people have aroused or presented. But our growth, our education, our philanthropy, our The President appounced that opportunity was afforded to any who might wish to offer prayer, either

vocal or silent. SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Treasurer, presented his r port of the Receipts and Expenditures of the Society during the past year. [See Report on third page.]

ferent from the programme; but have they not been very much better? It is not because of 'the mani-Voted, to accept the Treasurer's Report, and print it with the proceedings.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., General Agent of the Society presented, and read portions of, his Annual Statem On motion of H. C. Wright, and seconded, Voted, to accept and print the statement of

General Agent. The Business Committee, by WENDELL PHILLIP

clearly indicated. The Southern States, producing the great staples wanted by all the world—cotton, rice, tobacco, sugar, corn, wheat—and by a system as old as themselves, are not likely, under any mer political stress, or any aspects of the subject yet presented, to abandon their constitutional rights and hereditary usage. Events yet undiscerned in the constitution of the subject yet presented, to abandon their constitutional rights and regret, the letter of the Hon. Henry Wilson is and hereditary usage. Events yet undiscerned in the constitution of the subject yet and regret, the letter of the Hon. Henry Wilson is and hereditary usage. Events yet undiscerned in the constitution of the subject yet presented the following resolutions:— 1. Resolved, That we have noticed, with surprise and hereditary usage. Events yet undiscerned, in- the late Convention at Worcester, met to consider the and hereditary usage. Events yet undiscerned, internal necessities now unguessed, new discoveries at
home or abroad, the rise of prophets, or the awakening of conscience among the slaveholders, the
starting up of a true political genius, or great leader, among the blacks—it is in the womb of these er, among the blacks—it is in the womb of these such gross ignorance of the Anti-Slavery movement, as well as the feeling possibilities that the real cure for slavery is now of the Anti-Slavery movement, as well as the feeling in nor fatal- and wishes of Massachusetts, and utterly lacking in dependence; but awe in that unflinching purpose and-wide toleration which that unflinching purpose and wide toleration which are as irresistible as the descent of the Northern barbarians upon the

Roman empire, and with purposes as mysterious Slave Power. 2. Resolved, That, in our opinion, that letter w and as fraught with good.

It is in no mood of apology for the gigantie evil of slavery, and in no blindness to its sinfulness in the light of this age, that I venture for a moment to look at the good which Providence is educing was to assure the South that he has no affinity with to look at the good which Providence is educing from it. Men's errors and crimes do not thwart God's benevolence; and it is among the greatest triumphs of divine goodness that the wrath of an institution like American Slavery has been made to praise Him. Its existence has kept alive a discussion of human rights which has been highly important to the general education of the nation. one who knows the Anti-Slavery enterprise with more while the material prosperity and utilitarianism of the country, so unfavorable to the influence of ab-stract ideas and disinterested sentiments, have been offset and counteracted by the fears, the sacrifices, apologize—less the slave of forms, and more resolute apologize-less the slave of forms, and more resolute

the agitations and the enthusiasm connected with the Anti-Slavery movement. Furthermore, the barrier of black labor has confined the stream of emito establish justice and secure liberty at every hazard. that Mr. Wilson, who so well knows the utter differ gration within the healthy, invigorating, but less natural, parallels of latitude which now continue the belt of Northern industry, habits, and feelings, effort to break the Union, and that of the South, still joins us with them in the same condemnation,-in upon the language which, however adroitly chosen, cann d extension of New England capital and influ-westward, instead of southward; while our gn emigration owes its beneficent character disunion movement in New England,—as follows:—

foreign emigration owes its beneficent character and prospects to the connection it has formed with the Northern soil, climate, and ideas. The vast extent to which our territory has thus been opened, and the forced but healthy growth of the Northewest, have created an area of Freedom, and a population worthy of it, which is rapidly diminishing the general ratio of blacks to the whites in the country at largo, so that, at the present rate, their relative importance, whether in political, economic, or social respects, will, in twenty years, present a far less serious problem than now. The calls for a serious problem than now. The calls for was maintained that we were for the Union; and if any man, North or South, laid their hands upon it, there should die, if we had the power, traitor deaths. the general ratio of blacks to the whites in the country at large, so that, at the present rate, their relative importance, whether in political, economic, or social respects, will, in twenty years, present a far less serious problem than now. The calls for the country developing so rapidly independence and equality among the white race, would, perhaps safely and beneficently, absorb the blacks, even if they sustained to the whites the ratio of ten millions to a hundred millions, should

D. A. WASSON, WM. L. GARRISON, and ABBY K. Posten. Adjourned to quarter before 3 o'clock.

dutions, under discussion at the time of adjournment, were read again. PARKER PILLSBURY addressed the meeting in support of the resolutions in a speech of much force and

Rev. D. A. Wasson spoke, partly in criticism and partly in defence of the Republican party. He said he was not a disunionist, and never had been, but didn't know how soon he should be obliged to take that ground to preserve his own self-respect. He deprecated the apologetic tone which so many of the Republicans have used in Congress and elsewhere, when charged with being Abolitionists, and desiring

the overthrow of slavery throughout the Union. on if he would still hold to his opinion, namely, that the slaves should patiently remain in slavery twenty-five years longer, if necessary, rather than vife and children, or he himself, were the victims of mankind. slavery. Mr. Wasson replied that he thought it would be the highest heroism, even then, to stand by his position, though he made no professions for himself how far he might possess that heroism.

Mr. May, on behalf of the Committee of Arrangenents, offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :-

Resolved. That each member of the Society, and each friend of the Anti-Slavery cause now present, be requested to contribute the sum of one dollar, or such other sum as they shall please, towards defraying the necessary expenses of this annual meeting.

W. L. Garrison addressed the meeting in reply to some points advanced by Mr. Wasson. He defended the Abolitionists from the imputation of intolerance. He showed the inconsistency and wrong of the Republican party in upholding the union with slave-

Adjourned to meet at Mercantile Library Hall, at

EVENING. Society met at Mercantile Library Hall. EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, one of the Vice Presidents,

HENRY C. WRIGHT spoke to the resolutions, and to the general question of the debasing and demoralizing influences which our connection with slavery has exerted upon the entire nation. He thought there was not on the face of the earth, among nations pretending to civilization, any people so incapable of distinguishing between right and wrong, as the people of the United States. There is, he said, an indifference to crime, a general looseness in regard to justice, a propensity to robbery and fraud-organized robbery. Mr. Chairman, to be sure, said Mr. Wright,-such as can be nowhere else found to an equal degree. Wright contrasted the position of the States of Wisconsin and Massachusetts, with regard to the enforce ment of the Fugitive Slave Law within their respec tive borders,-much (and deservedly) to the disadvantage of Massachusetts. He concluded his remarks by offering a series of resolutions, pronouncing the existing Union a failure, and asserting the right of the slave to free himself by force, if ever force may be used. SAMUEL MAY, Jr., moved the reference of the reso-

lutions to the Business Committee. Seconded. JAMES N. BUFFUM protested against one of Mr. Wright's resolutions, which he regarded as advising olence and blood.

Mr. Garrison replied to Mr. Buffum, who, he hought, misconceived the resolution. He also commented on Mr. Wasson's position, taken this afternoon, that we might call on the slave to consent, and if slaves ourselves might consent, to await for twentyfive years a peaceful termination of slavery, rather than to precipitate it by violence. Mr. Garrison spoke eloquently on the sin against God and his own soul which that man commits, who consents to his own slavery, or to that of another man, for twentyive hours or twenty-five seconds. (Loud applause.) Mr. Wasson, Mrs. A. K. Foster, Mr. Buffum, Mr. Witson, and Mr. Gresson, continued the discus

PARKER PILLSBURY addressed the meeting in a ver earnest, serious, and touching speech. He spoke of the declaration of John Quincy Adams, George N. Briggs, and other eminent Northern men, that the annexation of Texas was cause for the dissolution of the submit, and, in their judgment, would not submit. If between Mr. Sumner and Mr. Wilson; yet that Mr. more numerous and strong are the reasons now! Men are telling us that it is not time for Disunion vet Will it ever be time? will there ever be grounds for dissolving this Union? can any degree of wrong justify us in separation? I say to you, said Mr. P., that instead of strengthening the North, and nerving it up for a dissolution of the Union bye and bye, every successive Southern insult and outrage strikes another paralytic blow on the Northern arm and con

Mrs. Lucy Stone, (who was received with much applause,) pointed out the merits and the demerits of the Republican party. She dwelt with sadness on the many evidences she had had of the want of a just and generous principle in its members; and on the other hand, was sure there were, in that party, so many young men whose souls were fired with a sincere lov of liberty, that every possible effort to educate and lift them higher would be well bestowed.

WENDELL PHILLIPS addressed the meeting in eloquent comments upon the present position of Massachusetts, and of her public servants, -especially Senators Sumner and Wilson,-in relation to the Union and Slavery.

Adjourned to Friday, 10 A. M.

FRIDAY.

Met at the Meionaon. The PRESIDENT in the chair. The resolutions before the Society were read again by the Secretary.

On motion, the hour of 114 o'clock was assigned fo the purpose of receiving Donations and Pledges to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society for the ensuing

HENRY C. WRIGHT addressed the Society, in sup port of the sentiments of the resolutions he present ast evening; and closed with offering another resolution, bearing upon the slave's right of resistance.

JAMES N. BUFFUM again objected to Mr. Wright' riews and resolution, as virtually encouraging and inciting the slaves to insurrection. He read passages from the Declaration of Sentiments adopted by the con vention which formed the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, in which they set forth, in the clearest ing desire among the people to be rid of all conn manner, that their principles are those of peace, and tion with slavery; and declared his conviction that opposed to all violence and bloodshed.

ended it at length. PARKER PILLSBURY defended Mr. Wright's resolu- take the matter into their own hands. He said

fended the resolutions before the meeting, and the consistency of the Society in maintaining its original with them, in every town in which he could find an

The hour assigned for taking up Donations and Pledges to the Society having arrived, the Society was addressed in a very carnest and allowed the Society was be died, of being a traitor to a slaveholding governsed in a very earnest and eloquent appeal by ment, and infidel to a pro-slavery religion. Mrs. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER.

the Abolitionists should contribute, to a degree great-er than ever before, for the spread of their principles; a remarkable fact, in the recent cases of insurrections why all persons, indeed, professing to love freedom, should aid the cause which is the basis of every effective movement against the Slave Power.

Away K Forres again spoke on the same subject. The discussion on the resolutions was then contined by W. L. GARRISON, W. PHILLIPS, H. C. WRIGHT, APTERNOON. The President in the chair. The J. N. BUPFUM, and LUCY STONE.

Adjourned to quarter of 3 o'clock. APPERNOON. President in the chair.

HERBERT GLEASON expressed in earnest terms his votion to the Anti-Slavery cause. THEODORE PARKER spoke on the political aspect of the country to-day, with much point, humor

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Con orted the following resolutions, all of which had been informally before the meeting since yesterday after-

4. Resolved. That the American Union, as might have the overthrow of slavery throughout the Union.

Mrs. Fosten and Dr. Knox severally asked of Mr. parties to it, has proved a sad and total failure, having, from its formation to the present day, directly tended to the moral degradation and ruin of the American people, and the extension and perpetuity nce to effect their freedom—provided Ais of the most dreadful form of bondage now kn

5. Resolved, That the present American Govern ment has proved a curse and calamity to the cause of Human Freedom throughout the world; and, therefore, it is the right and duty of the people at once t alter or forever to abolish that government.

6. Resolved. That the people of the non-slave States owe it to themselves and to their posterity, and to justice, liberty and humanity, to call town, county and State Conventions to consider the expediency and duty of forming a Northern Republic on the principle of No Union with Slaveholders.

Whereas, the fundamental organic law of Mass chusetts is, that 'all men are born free and equal, and endowed by their Creator with an unalienable right to liberty'; therefore,

7. Resolved, That, to allow a man to be arraigned and tried before any tribunal, on the issue, Is he a freeman or a slave—is he a man or a chattel? is an atrocious violation of the fundamental law of the 8. Resolved, That it is the duty of Massachusetts to

execute this fundamental law of her government, and to forbid, by such laws as shall be deemed jus and necessary, the arrest and trial of any person living under her jurisdiction, on an issue so insulting to God and so derogatory to man. 9. Resolved. That we recognize it, as a fixed lay

of our being, that 'Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God,' and that, under this law, it is the right and duty of the slave to deny the authority and resist the power of the slaveholder.

10. Resolved, That, in every effort of the slave t obtain his freedom, whether by flight or insurrection our sympathies are, and ever must be, with him, and against his oppressor; and we pledge ourselves that we will do all in our power which we, as individnals, deem right and most fitting, to aid the enslaved in their struggle for liberty.

11. Resolved, That those who hold to the right of

armed resistance to oppression, and glorify their Revolutionary sires for their bloody conflict with British tyrants, are recreant to their own principles if they do not recognize this right on the part of the slaves against their tyrant masters, and assist them to achieve their complete enfranchisement.

12. Resolved, That the people of the North have ong since passed the point where passive endurance of Southern insult, oppression and outrage is a virtue, even were there no inherent criminality in the Union itself: and we regard any furtheir delay of the dissolution of the Union, especially when based on nothing better than the action, or the hopes of political parties pledged to the support of slavery in the States, as not only delusive, but criminal in the very highest degree.

T. W. Higginson addressed the Society. He com ented with great plainness and severity on the recent speech of Henry Wilson on the President's Message He referred to the recent Disunion Convention at Worcester, to its calm and lofty position, and to the uccess which attended it.

LYSANDER SPOONER asked why it was that, while Henry Wilson and other Republicans are sharply censured here, (and he agreed they should be,) Charles Sumner, who occupies the same position, is not only wholly spared, but receives universal laudation? Mr. PHILLIPS replied to Mr. Spooner by reading an

xtract from the Bee, which speaks of Mrs. Foster' severe criticism of Mr. Sumner, the day previous. Mr. GARRISON also replied to Mr. Spooner, showing

Union, an act to which Massachusetts ought not to that there were many and marked points of difference mended in this Society.

EDMUND QUINCY, from the Committee on Nomina

on, reported the following as officers for the ensuing

Vice Presidents-Andrew Robeson, New Bedford Edmund Quincy, Dedham; Adin Ballon, Milford; Joshua T. Everett, Princeton; Effingham L. Capron. Worcester; Jefferson Church, Springfield; Henry I Bowditch, Boston ; Josiah Henshaw, West Brookfield Caroline Weston, Weymouth; Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fitchburg; George Miles, Westminster; James N. Buffum, Lynn; John T. Hilton. Brighton; Thomas T. Stone, Bolton; Bourne Spooner, Plymouth; William Ashby, Newburyport; John Bailey, Lynn; James Russell Lowell, Cambridge; Richard Clap, Dorchester; William Whiting, Concord; Ezekiel Thacher, Barnstable; David P. Harmon, Haverhill; Charles Lenox Remond, Salem: John Clement, Townsend; Atkinson Stanwood, Newburyport; Lews Ford, Abington; Timothy Davis, Framingham.

Corresponding Secretary-Samuel May, Jr., Leices-

Recording Secretary-Robert F. Wallcut, Boston. Treasurer-Samuel Philbrick, Brookline Auditor-Edmund Jackson, Boston.

Counsellors-William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Maria W. Chapman, Eliza Lee Follen, Anne W. Weston, Edmund Quincy, Charles K. Whipple, William I. Bowditch, Charles F. Hovey, John T. Sargent, Charles E. Hodges.

The report was unanimously accepted, and the officers accordingly elected. Adjourned to Tremont Temple at 7 o'clock.

EVENING. The Society met in the Tremont Tem-

ple, according to adjournment. EDMUND QUINCY, one of the Vice Presidents, in the chair. HENRY C. WRIGHT spoke to the question of a dis-

solution of the Union. He referred to the growthe majority of the people only waited for their lead-HENRY C. WRIGHT reaffirmed his position, and de- ing men to go forward, their Giddingses, Sumners &c. He trusted the people would wait no longer, but expected to remain in New England until the first of SAMUEL MAY, Jr. replied to Mr. Buffum, and de- June, and was resolved to preach the doctrines of Re-

PARKER PILLSBURY spoke with much power of the WENDELL PHILLIPS enlarged upon the reasons why right of the slaves to rise in insurrection against their among the slaves in various parts of the Southern States, when the slaveholders were in such extremity of alarm that they seized and hung dozens of slav EDWIN THOMPSON spoke effectively to the question on mere suspicion, without judge or jury,—that not ne word of sympathy (so far as he had seen) with

those alarmed and suffering slaveholders had been expressed in the Northern papers, not even in the Northern religious press. Neither in the New York Rev. ern religious press. Actuar in the New York Observer, 'and if not in these.' said Mr. Pillsbury, 'where should we look for said said Mr. Phisoary,
sympathy this side of Pandemonium'? Not even in those papers has any word of sympathy for the temfied slaveholders been uttered. Mr. Pillsbury refer red to 'an old opponent' of his, the American Chard and Ministry, and proceeded to speak of their press relation to slavery. He particularly noticed Albert Barnes's recent book on slavery—the book of a man for whom he formerly entertained the highest respect now he knew not why Mr. Barnes's book shou how he knew his why have been about anomal he be classed with Dr. Nehemiah Adams's 'South Side View.' In 1840, Mr. Barnes declared that it was to the supineness of the Church, and its connection with slaveholders, that the continuance of slavery was on. ing. In 1866 he declares the Church is not respensible for slavery, and is not the apologist for it! Mr. P. showed, by reference to the cases of Thomas Sins in Massachusetts, and Margaret Garner in Ohio, how powerless to defend the slave must our largest and most influential States be, while in this guilty Union. Mr. Garrison, from the Business Committee, po ported the following resolutions :-

13. Resolved, That the awful criminality of the American Church, in regard to the millions who are held in bondage at the South, is still clearly demon. strated in the fact, that while she professes to believe in the Bible as the inspired word of God, and in the duty of giving it to every human being, she not only asents but conspires to rob these millions of that sacred' volume; that while she holds up Christ a the redeemer of the world, she propagates a gupd which is at peace with a widely extended system of darkness and heathenism; that while she affirms the divinity of the institution of marriage, she helps to enforce wholesale concubinage and adulterous analysmation on a frightful scale; that while she teaches that God has 'made of one blood all nations of men,' and that all souls are his, she sanctifies the act of adl ing men, women and children along with merchandim and cattle. 14. Resolved, That no severer condemnation has

ever been pronounced against the American Church by the Abolitionists, than is contained in the recent work of Rev. Albert Barnes, with reference to that Church and Slavery, when he says, 'The outsured progress of liberty among the nations will compel the rches, if they will save the world from infidelity, to detach themselves from slavery '-thus declaring them churches to be lower than even the outside world in their sonse of justice and humanity, and, therefore, thoroughly corrupt and apostate,

15. Resolved, That in the flattering reception every where given in New England to Thomas H. Benton, the proud and incorrigible slaveholder of Missouri, in the delivery of his lecture in defence of this blood stained Union, which he acknowledges is essential to the existence of the Southern slave system, and advising the suppression of all anti-slavery discussion at the North, we have fresh evidence of the general loss of self-respect and manhood, of genuine sympathy for the outraged slave, of a true appreciation of personal and civil liberty, on the part of the New England people.

16. Resolved. That Massachusetts has been degrad. ed and outraged afresh by her Representatives in Congress, by their pusillanimously allowing a unanimous vote to be passed in the House, in reference to the sudden death of the Carolina ruffian, Preston 8. Brooks, . tendering to the family of the deceased the sympathy of the House, and resolving that the members, in token of respect, wear crape on the left arm for thirty days'; and especially, by allowing a Savan, from Tennessee, to say, respecting the dastardly assault upon Charles Sumner, without one word of horror or rebuke coming from their lips- Brutus stabbed Casar in the Capitol, and whatever may be thought of the justice and wisdom of the deed, the world has ever since approved and applauded the act; so shall the scene in the Senate Chamber carry the name of the deceased to all future generations, long to be remembered after all are forgotten, and when these walls shall have crumbled into ruins.' (!!!)

Mr. Garrison proceeded to comment on the lut reported resolutions. The Southern fear and slarm, respecting a dissolution of the Union, he said, were shown by the mission of Thomas H. Beuton, the incorrigible slaveholder of Missouri, to New England. The cry of these Union-saving politicians, that 'the Union must be saved,' is proof that they deem it to be in great hazard. People who live by Wachusett er Monadnock are not perpetually busying themselves to keep the mountain in its place.

WENDELL PRILLIPS followed in a speech fall of interest and instruction. His view of the policy of the in-coming administration, meekly seeking at fint to conciliate the opposing sections of the Union, only at last to yield every point to slaveholding imperious ness and arrogance, was set forth with great keennes, and elicited much applause. He ridiculed the idea that there is any value for the North in the existing Union, or that anybody here really cared for it, sare the selfish, pensioned men who live upon its pay. He showed what a curse, what a tyrannical power the Union is to the Northern States; illustrating his position most forcibly by the case of Margaret Garner and the State of Ohio. Liberty and Slavery cannot live together; the sooner we come to that conclusion, the better. We want to see the day when we may walk Boston streets without being compelled to hang the head with shame as we rem mournful processions of Thomas Sims and Anthony Burns, and not feel utterly self-condemned as we think of the early martyrs in the contest for American liberty.

The Resolutions which had been before the Society during its meetings, and fully discussed, were unari monsty adopted.

The Society then adjourned, sine die. Nore. The total amount of cash collections by the Finance Committee, and sent to the Secretary, was \$560 81. Total amount of Pledges, \$1368 25. FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., CHARLES K. WHIPPLE,

SKETCHES OF THE DISCUSSIONS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING. In the session of Thursday morning, the resolution

(1, 2) respecting the unfaithfulness of Henry Wilson to liberty were discussed at length by James N. Buf-fum, Wendell Phillips, H. C. Wright, W. L. Gardson, Abby K. Foster, and Rev. David A. Wassell, Groveland. The latter gentleman defended Mr. Wilson as well as the facts would allow, and in fact rather better, expressing the belief that he would seed abandon the cause of Anti-Slavery, and thus implying that he had been laboring in that cause. He set obliged to admit, however, that Mr. Wilson had not come into that movement on principle, and further, that he could never be relied upon for adherence is a principle; that when he went into the Sensis, is did not go with clean hands, having made a shameful compromise with the Native Americans; that he is a man of expediency, not of principle, and that his let ter to the Disunion Convention at Worcester was a shabby letter. Mr. Wasson thought, however, the Mr. Wilson meant to act for the benefit of the slave. Mr. GARRISON said-The obvious spirit and intelligence

of Wilson's letter separate it from those of the other dissenters from disunion at Worcester. The letter's hunkerish—just such as Webster might have writes ABBY KELLEY FOSTER was by no means surpress at the character of the letter, but was rather delight ed that Wilson had shown himself as he is. to look at the position of all those men to t what they say to us is of less consequence. hand is raised against the slave, and she thanked God he has als Worcester reply who Taursn tion, it wi had alreadelery, 8 debate h ground. bid farew There are salvation, Anti-Slav that he h Preston S Charles atorship a

FEI

publican 1 our hand they can keep slav that we h We she tive that against it. Auti-Slav and avow Payette ' Wilson is. make it seat in th ever they I say, of freedor ing for th election. position o with us is ing Frem single sla

be purche in Caroli disdains ! Wilson preserved And Joh from the new, and have no I am glad in such b make it in the wa with thei think we which sh

the distin

vocates

If we s

to them quality is Mr. G REV. 1 Disunion self-respe States wi en and th work of in the ex to welcom ed upon Union ar not separ The p

strength

can party

to the So

Union.

as a such

in God's

sive poli

party. right of stances, self, and you beg others is are not door.) be attai ing to y negroes them of ARBY

if he we his own Mr. Y whethe act wise even th both pa such th we shot Mr. have th

Worces I am g contrar; Theodo bee, an men sa is incom latter, betwee out sin stroyin the fac

We sake o rant to under now a quiesco down.

If we stand we the blican parties in the Author with the Author with the Author with the Author with the Author wasked asked

THURSDAY AFTERNOON. At Mr. Garrison's suggest

t was voted, that not only the resolutions which

il was already been presented, but the whole subject of

pillsbury thought that some of the morning's

had proceeded upon a partially mistaken

The Anti-Slavery cause is a revolution, not

more reform, and after commencing it, we should afterwell to all who place union before liberty.

are few Republicans who do not place union

list are now inspections. The Union much needs

disting, and richly deserves its opposite. I want inti-Slavery placed where Henry Wilson will know

s, should now be considered open for debate.

the has nothing to do with it, any more than Preston S. Brooks. charles Summer has said that he accepted his Sen-Thomas Sims in in Ohio, how it our largest and his guilty Union. Charles Commission and the Union.' It seems to that all such men are our opponents. The Reblican party have no more title to consideration at Committee, rends than the Democratic. They say that if ean keep the Union in no other way, they will per slavery, and they should be made to understand iminality of the millions who are I clearly demonthe we have no alliance with them.

We should put our movement on a ground so posiofesses to believe

that every one will know whether he is for it or rainst it. I shall give no man in Congress credit for And-Slavery principle until he approves insurrection, and avows that he would be to the slaves what La systle was to our fathers. If I were a General, as Wison is, and holding his place in Congress, I would aske it clearly understood that I would vacate my est in the Senate to lead the slaves to freedom, whenerr they called for a leader.

I say, let not the slaves be cheated out of their hope

freedom, or of any movement towards it, by waitinf for the supposed advantage of any Presidential We must expect no service from men in the pation of Wilson, and should not regard them as with us in any way. If they had succeeded in electing Fremont, it would not have loosed the chain of a

If we say that freedom in Kansas or California is to be purchased by assent to the continuance of slavery Carolina or Kentucky, we say too much. Liberty dains such compromises.

Wilson's late speech asserts that the Union must be reserved, and that if any men (North or South) lay ands upon it, they shall die traitor deaths, if he can compass it, and leave traitor memories behind them.

And John P. Hale vindicates the Republican party from the charge that they wish to introduce any thing ew, and tells the Senate and the South that they can here no confidence in any but the Republican party. am glad to hear these men define their true position ch letters and speeches as we have been considering. While they hold such language, we should make it clear that we have nothing to do with them in the way of alliance or fraternity, and nothing to do with their party but to trample it under our feet. I think we need to manifest a firmness and positiveness which shall assure the people of all other parties, of distinction between them and us ! between the adrocates of reform and of revolution. Our function to them is that of leaven to dough; and while our quality is kept pure, we need not lament the smallness our comparative bulk.

Mr. Garrison here offered a resolution in regard to he course of Mr. Wilson. (See No. 3 of the series.) REV. MR. WASSON. I have never called myself a disunionist, and do not now; though I know not how son I may have to do so, in order to maintain my own sif-respect. I do not think a separation between the States will help us to break down slavery. The leaven and the dough must be brought together, that the work of both may be properly done. I find wisdom a the example of William of Orange, who knew ho selcome all assistance, and whose success dependd upon that splendid toleration. If the people of the laion are to derive advantage from this Society, do

not separate so far from them.

The party which rises to a higher ground on the strength of a defeat is in a good way. The Republian party seems not to do that. They are explaining the South that they don't mean any harm to the Union. It is time for an end to this roaring as gently sa sucking dove. If the Union can't stand on the ground of justice to every man in it, black or white, in God's name let it fall. I believe that the aggressive policy is the only true policy for the Republican

No man of us can go South, and enjoy the very first tht of freedom-free speech. Under such circumthem. Even the Constitution is inconsistent with itself, and means slavery or freedom according to where

do not, however, believe that Sumner, Wilson and others in Congress, are doing no service because they are not working in a certain way. (Applause near the oor.) Every man is doing service who does his own work in an anti-slavery spirit. If emancipation can he attained without blood by waiting, I am willing to wait twenty-five years, if necessary, and the negroes ought to be willing to wait. If the Con-gressmen are doing their work faithfully, I acquit hem of blame.

ABBY KELLEY FOSTER here asked Mr. Wasson f he would wait so patiently for twenty-five years, if is own wife were in the grasp of the slaveholder. Mr. Wasson did not know what he should do, nor whether, under such exciting circumstances, he should act wisely, but thought he ought to be willing to wait, even then. Insurrection would be war, and in war both parties would be demoralized. H. C. WRIGHT-What are they now?

Ir. WASSON-Well, about half way. But after such thorough demoralizing as war would produce, we should have a yet harder task to make them men. Mr. GARRISON-My friend Mr. Pillsbury seems to have the impression, that the writers of letters to the Worcester Convention placed Union above Liberty. I am glad we have those letters on record, showing rary testimony on the part of some of them. Here Mr. Garrison read extracts from the letters of Theodore Parker, Hon. Amass Walker, Hon. Joshua re, and George R. Russell, Esq.] All these gentlemen say that when they are satisfied that the Union incompatible with liberty, they will embrace the Mer, and renounce the former. The only difference between us and them is, whether it is possible, without sia, to remain in the Union, with any hope of destroying slavery. They do not look the true issue in

We have no right to lower God's standard for the how a sham, pretending to be a Union. Shall we acquiesce in this sham? Our business is to tear it

If we ask the Republican party how they underand we say to them, 'Then you are responsible for

the American Union." We have nothing to concede, because this is a moral question. We can yield nothing, because the thing taked of us is sin. God is our leader, righteousness our end, and compromise would be treachery to both. (To be continued.)

who, not shrinking from the costliest sacrifices which they could make for the truth, have offered up their lives for its sake. Along the highways of time, for the space of twenty centuries, martyr-fires have blazed,—like the signal lights in the Highlands of Scotland, which the class once kindled on every hill-top, stoicism, we have confessed to a surprise; and that the light of the faggot and the stake has reddened surprise is this, that the Christian Associations, unlike every page of history. And a thoughtful recollection the incient people of this venerable city, who on a of these things, when it creeps in an hour of medi-tation upon the mind, will stir the heart and quicken serve their individual rights, have just now, as we

trials which, though signal and terrible, are soon tion in this country, that in the city of New York, ended. Condemned to the fire, they walk into it, having been disturbed by the introduction of the alaand then are quickly consumed. Even in the days
of the inquisition, when the most ingenious devices
were practised for prolonging life for the sake of prolonging torture, nature would kindly fail, and death

Thus the truth is again refused a hearing; and so would come quickly to relieve the rack and the is stricken down and made to suffer another wound, screw-bolt of their victims, long before persecution which comes this time by the hand of one on whom and relieve it from the trial;—for the truth is immor-tal, and can suffer only pain, and not harm. It can We had already seen how the Church and the State feel the flame, but cannot be consumed. It can be bruised against the stone, but cannot be broken. It Casea with Trebonius, Ligarius, and the rest, against tion die. And so, when it suffers, it must suffer to assassin! the end, for there is no giving up of its life in the Such an act, from such a hand, 'casts down truth

It seems to have been ordained that the sun should again been fulfilled-and when does a day pass that every day look down from the heavens, and behold it is not verified anew? - Truth is fallen in the streets. the truth suffering violence. It seems to us that a day never passes when the truth does not receive the Church, and of the various institutions which the stab of a dagger or the stripe of a lash,—either from Church sends out like colonics into the world, we its known foes or its false friends. At least, men cannot and do not despair of the truth. We have who, in the service of the truth, are ever on the sympathy for its manifold reverses, but we know watch, with a hopeful solicitude for tokens of its pro- that it shall finally triumph. We have faith in the gress in the earth, seem to expect that, with every future, or rather, we have faith in God; and we day of their lives, it is somewhere to be insulted and know that the truth, being immortal, shall outlive its outraged, somewhere stricken down and trodden un- enemies, and shall even triumph before they die. Our der foot.

cause of Human Freedom, we have long since ceased 'We can do nothing against the truth, but for the to be surprised at any indignity which might be offer truth;' only it somewhat tries our present patience ed to it. It has been so often put to open shame, when we foresee how long it must still struggle against where it should have received honor and allegiance; principalities and powers! it has been so often denied by the Church and the States, as well as by men who 'neither fear God nor regard man, that we have given up wondering at any new form of insult, even though that were 'cruel MY DEAR FRIEND-I wish to say a few words to

it may lawfully hold in human flesh and human Giddings, the meaning of my vote is simply this hearts; and the Church has made her altars a sacred 'I had rather Fremont were President than Buchanrefuge for the monstrous doctrine. We are no longer an or Fillmore. I had rather Charles Sumner were surprised, therefore, at any thing, whether in the spirit Senator than G. S. Hillard. And I had rather J. R. or the working of civil government, or in the teaching and the example of that Church which professes For any one to tell me that this is not my meaning, but to be of Christ,—at any thing in either of these which denies, directly or indirectly, that a man who is born absurd to pretend to know a man's meaning better black is not a man, or, what amounts to the same than himself. And to attempt to make him answerathing, which refuses to say that, having once been ble for a meaning which never entered his mind, is deprived of his most inviolable rights, he is hence-forth nevermore entitled to them! something worse than absurd. Nor will it do to say that my vote is understood by

Having years since almost given up our expectation stances, there cannot be a real union between us and Church, begun almost simultaneously in this country heart is right, and that his acts are seen and felt to be and in Europe, and whose progress and success we have noticed with no little attentiveness,—the cause of Freedom would at last find, at least in some degree, the friend which the Church has long refused this, unless you give it some hidden meaning, is a gross is common to young blood.

a priest or a devil, may rule, and that not for four years only, but till the distant era in eternity, when by which Christianity is struggling to give forth to the world a practical expression of itself, additional

You would do well, I think, to give up this way of is the institution of the Young Men's Christian Association, which, in a comparatively short period of time—like a quick ripening fruit—has grown to be a great moral power in the world. This institution has men, who, with the right banner at their front, might ica, to satisfy me, that to chide reformers because they go forth conquering and to conquer. The member- do not go as far as myself,-or to deal with them as if ship of some of these associations numbers often more they were bound to be logically consistent in all their A. Giddings, Hon. Edward Wade, Hon. O. W. Al- than a thousand persons, and sometimes even two or words and actions,—or to make them answerable for three thousand; that is, in a single city. These bodies are formed on a broad and liberal basis. Though it is to be regretted that some of them practice the exclusiveness of admitting to active membership only persons whose faith is of the order termed 'evangelical,' yet persons who are not so fortunate as to have been born and bred 'orthodox' may enjoy a limited in the West as at present. In what sense they use the prerogative as associate members, who exercise every phrase 'genuine anti-slavery' is best known to themother privilege except that of holding an office, and selves. But in what I call the true acceptation of the of showing a tolerant spirit. Shall we be tole- of casting a vote. And if it be true, as an eminent words, 'genuine anti-slavery' never ran so high in Then we are to be intolerant. We have allowed to speak in a public meeting, he would not allowed to speak in a public meeting, he would not care to be intolerant. We have allowed to speak in a public meeting, he would not care to be allowed to speak in a public meeting, he would not rison and Gerrit Smith, for Francis Jackson and Theorems and the between the care to be allowed to rote, the difference as to equality associations which insist on these distinctions, is not cause of humanity, whether they vote or vote not, so great as might at first appear.

I am yours, respectfully and affectionately,

stand the United States Constitution, they reply, 'As

The specified object of these organizations is to comthe authorized expositors have always interpreted it; 'bine and increase the Christian influence of the young and we say to them, 'Then you are responsible for the blood of the alave.' The position of the Republican party to the Constitution is the same as that of the Democratic party—faithfulness to the compromas. One of its organs, the Keene Sentinel, says, 'It aims neither at the destruction of alavery nor of the American Union.'

A few copies of the Bazaare Report, in neat party to the Constitution is the same as that of the Democratic party—faithfulness to the compromate. One of its organs, the Keene Sentinel, says, 'It aims neither at the destruction of alavery nor of the American Union.' tian Association stands between the Church and the oblige us by doing so. world, it takes held with one hand of the questions world, it takes hold with one hand of the questions which the Church discusses, and with the other reaches out and grasps those other and equally important questions which the Church seeks to exclude from her sanctified tepth. Accordingly, while Uni-

has also raised it against us. This proceeding has TRUTH AGAIN FALLEN IN THE STREETS. tarianism, and Universalism, and Romanism, and vahas also raised it against us. This proceeding has the merit of being frank. But Summer had less the merit of being frank. But Summer had less the merit of being frank. But Summer had less the merit of being frank. But Summer had less the merit of being frank. But Summer had less the merit of being frank. But Summer had who have suffered for the truth's sake. The noble raime, have been considered, these bodies have discovered for the truth's sake. The noble raime, and Universalism, and Homanism, and Volversalism, and Homanism, and Homan skins-of whom the world was not worthy.' From centiousness in the fine arts, of immigration and the the heroic age, when the stones of the highway drank the blood of martyred Stephen, and when the Apostelles who were commissioned to go forth and bear witness to the truth, went to the altar of sacrifice and gro minstrels, of eigar-smoking, of tobacco-chewing, witness to the truth, went to the altar of sacrifice and laid down their lives as their testimony; and since those days of the cross and the stake, down through the long years of inquisition and persecution, until now, the world has witnessed—and God has rewarded—the sufferings and the death of men and women who, not shrinking from the costliest sacrifices which

the blood of every generous and noble man.

And yet, the reflection forces itself upon us, that, if it were possible, the truth suffers more itself, than the martyrs who suffer for its sake; for they endure

The largest and most prominent Christian Associa-

had wrought out its full cruelty. But the truth is it counted as a friend. We had been looking to the cast into the fiery furnace, or bound to the stake, or Christian Associations, ever since this question was pressed with the rack, and must endure its tortures introduced among them about two months ago, to until they who mock at its calamity shall take pity, bear a noble witness in behalf of freedom. We had can be cast down, but cannot be destroyed. It can be Casar; but we have now seen that even Brutus lifts smitten, but cannot be slain. It is like Milton's an- up his dagger and strikes a blow; so that truth is gels, vital in every part, and cannot but by annihila- made to bleed from the steel of a friend turned an

to the ground.' The old prophet's prediction has

vision is clear that they who plot against it shall be As for the truth as it is manifested in the great put to open shame; for it is true, as the Apostle says,

LETTER FROM JOSEPH BARKER.

mockings and scourgings.'

you about the meaning of a vote. When I vote for
The State clings to that property which it supposes such men as Fremont, Charles Summer and Joshua R.

But we at last confess to a surprise. Our youthful others to mean something more. For it is plain, that wonder at the denials of the claims of the truth, by both North and South take such votes as a simple decmen who profess to be followers of Him whose name is Truth, has been revived, after long slumber. laretion of a preference of freedom to slavery, and of the friends of freedom to the advocates of slavery. You may say that the meaning you give to a vote that the Church, as such, would at any time this side its logical meaning; but that, at least, is but your opinof a far distant future come to a proper position of witness-bearing on the subject of slavery, we have for some time past, perhaps as a kind of refuge from this and practical tendencies are so plain. I wonder you thought, indulged a hope that in a recently-organized cannot be satisfied with the conduct of such men as movement, in some measure connected with the Samuel J. May, when you see so clearly, both that his

and still refuses to be. We have observed the move- falsehood. And, among a common-sense and practiment with the greater interest, because, while in its cal people, your hidden meanings, or metaphysical character it is religious, it is not denominational, and subtleties, are worse than useless—they are discredita-while in its organization it is of the Church, it is not ble and injurious. The Slave Power no more rules ecclesiastical; and also, because it is a movement on with my consent, than with yours. You say, that my the part of young men, who, having been born into adopting the principle, that the majority shall rule, the world at a later stage of its progress than their we agree or consent that the Slave Power shall rule, if conservative fathers and teachers, and having opened it can get a majerity. Suppose this to be the case, their eyes in the morn of life to the light of the sub- what is your position? By adopting the principle that lime principles of Christianity, might be naturally any party may rule that can get the power, or the expected, from their generous impulses, to take sides principle that you will not interfere in government with the cause of truth and justice, and to utter their matters, you agree or consent that either the matters testimony for the right, with that enthusiasm which jority or the minority—the Slave Power or the Pope a priest or a devil, may rule, and that not for four

to that which finds utterance through the Church, talking; but your own opinion, of course, must gov-

now its representatives in all the chief cities of the such men as go no farther in the Anti-Slavery cause United States, and in the Protestant countries of Eu- than to attempt to prevent the farther spread of slarope; and is gathering to itself an army of young very. I have seen enough, both in Europe and Amer-

Omaha City, (Nebraska,) Jan. 8, 1857.

DEATH OF PRESTON S. BROOKS. In the terrible and sudden death of the assailant of Receipts into the Treasury of the Mass. Anti-Slaver harles Summer, the truly philosophical and reflect-Charles Sumner, the truly philosophical and reflect-ive, as well as the profoundly religious, will read a

esson of most solemn import.

The former cannot fail to observe in it the culmination, so far as this life is concerned, of the inevita-ble law of retribution, or, in other words, effect fol-lowing its cause; while the latter will generally be led to the conclusion, that it is one of those special visitations with which Divine Providence afttimes overwhelms the perpetrator of a glaring crime. Several individuals who have observed the appear

ance of Brooks since his most outrageous assault on Sumner, unite in declaring that his spirits had lost much of their usual vivacity: that what of cheerfulness he manifested seemed rather forced than natural; that his whole deportment was such as to indicate clearly that he was sustaining a weight of mental suffering. It is perfectly natural that it should be so. Indeed, it could not be otherwise, without an entire change of the human constitution. Grief, regret or remorse, arising from the ever-present consciousness of flagrant wrong done to a fellow-man, affects the whole frame, especially the internal organs, and more particularly those of the chest and neck. Who that has ever felt deep grief, or other severe mental anguish, that has not at the same time experienced a sort of choking sensation in the throat showing that there is a strong sympathy between that part and the brain; hence we hear it said, that such a person was choked with grief, rage, or other violent passion, as the case may be.

Taking, then, these mental and physiological facts along with the observations of persons above referred to, as to the altered appearance of Brooks since the outrage on Sumner, and applying them to the case that has just terminated so fearfully at Washington, the conclusion is, that the mental torture suffered by Brooks, in consequence of his vile abuse of Sumner, so affected the organs of the throat and chest as to predispose them to take on the disease that afflicted him, and aggravated its action afterwards, until it terminated in the fearful manner as reported. How sudden and terrible the retribution!

The miscrable assailant passing through the mortal agony at the time the assailed had just declared himself as nearly recovered from the dreadful prostration consequent upon the assault, forcibly reminds one of what the gifted bard of freedom says of Truth and Error, in one of his happiest efforts:-

'Truth crushed to earth shall rise again, The eternal years of God are hers; While Error wounded writhes in pain, And dies amid her worshippers.' Verily 'the way of the transgressor is hard.' May

guilty nation profit by this terrible example! Springfield, Feb. 1, 1857. E. W. TWING.

DEATH OF PRESTON S. BROOKS.

In the U. S. Senate, last week, official notification of the death of Mr. Brooks having been made, eulogies were pronounced upon him by Messrs. Evans, Hunter and Toombs, of the South. In the House, by Keitt, Quitman, Clingman, and Savage of Tennessee.

Keitt, Quitman, Clingman, and Savage of Tonnessee.

'Mr. Savage did not approve of much talking at any time; but he would do injustice to his feelings and those of his constituents by remaining silent on this occasion. History records but one Thermopyle; but there ought to have been, "and that for Preston S. Brooks." Brutus stabbed Carsar in the Capitol; and whatever may be thought of the deed, the world has ever since approved and applauded the act. So shall the scene in the Senate chamber carry the name of the deceased to all future generations, long to be remembered after all are forgotten, and when these walls shall have crumbled into ruins. Had he been permitted to choose his own death, he (Savage) was convinced he would have fallen in some great battle for the public of South Carolina. He had seen Mr. Brooks bearing the trials of the siege of Vera Cruz, as an officer of the Palmetto Regiment, ever exhibiting all the characteristics of a true man and a soldier. Under all circumstances, never a morning came here but he made his salute to his old commander.'

This brutal speech, it is said, excited considerable

This brutal speech, it is said, excited considerable

'SAVAGE, member of Congress from Tennessee, is truly named. None but a genuine savage could have made the speech that he did, on Thursday, as a tribute to his deceased friend. His ruffianly words must have produced a shudder of horror in the most hardhearted, on such an occasion.'

acedness as a pretended Republican, spoke in a characteristic manner :-

'Mr. Campbell said Mr. Brooks merited the confidence of his constituents, because he was the faithful advocate of their policy and sentiments, and the zealous guardian of their rights, interest and honor. His tions with the decea ed were such as enabled him to know and appreciate his virtues.'

The President, Heads of Department, and Mr. Buchanan, were all present at the funeral obsequies.

KIDNAPPED New Yorkers.—Gov. King, of New York, has brought to the attention of the Legislature of that State two cases of kidnapping. One is the case of Henry Dixon, a free citizen of Rochester. None of his family were ever slaves until he was kidnapped. While on his way home from Washington, where he had been employed, he stopped at a hotel between Washington and Baltimore, where he was persuaded to lodge. During the night, he was seized by some ruffians, while he was saleep, and kept in a place of confinement for two or three days. He was then taken to a slave pen, and sold to a man named Dean, of Maeon, Ga., where he still remained in slavery at the date of his last letter. Gov. Clark appointed an agent to see to his case. The agent ascend Dean and Sunday, PROVIDENCE, R. I., in the still remained that Dean had sold him, but was unable to obtain any further information concerning him.—Messrs. Poe & Griser of Macen, who were employed by Gov. Clark's agent, say that Dean offers to surrender him for \$700.

Charles Granby, also of Rochester, is the other kid-

render him for \$700.

Charles Granby, also of Rochester, is the other kidnapped person. When hat seen, he was at work on the dock in front of the residence of Mr. Hill, in the parish of Hayville, Louisiana, on the Mississippi. Mr. Joseph Cochrane, of Rochester, went in search of him, but was not able to find him at the place described.

A young woman is auxious for a teacher's occupation.

Another of the Beauties of Slavery.—Joseph L. Blodgett, of Charlemont, furnishes the Greenfield Gazette the particulars of his expulsion from the State of Florida, after being cruelly whipped. Mr. Blodget thad lived at Jacksonville, and in its vicinity, since 1852. He says that in June last, a company of 'Regulators,' numbering about seventy men, was formed for the purpose of punishing such offenders as they saw fit. This band, Mr. Blodgett says, has already killed several men—one was whipped to death, one was shot dead, and others have been whipped and sent out of the State. On the 26th of December, Mr. B. was seized, taken to the woods, stripped of his clothes, and received eighty lashes from a raw hide, on his back. He was then forwarded to Savannah, and thence made his way to New York. Several citizens of Charlemont certify that the sores and sears on Mr. Blodgett's back are sufficient evidence of his laving received a severe whipping, and other citizens testify to his good character, previous to his departure for the South. The offence charged against Mr. Blodgett by the 'Regulators' was, that he had said he had taught negroes to read.—Journal.

AYER'S AMERICAN ALMANAC is now ready for delivery at Weeks and Potter's, who are supplied with it by the publisher for distribution, gressis, to all who call for it. It contains about the richest collection of antorit. It contains about the richest collection of antority.

ecdotes we know of-a calendar accurately calculated for this meridian, and found reliable, besides an amount for this meridian, and found reliable, besides an amount of valuable medical information which should be in A Juzius R. Ames of Albany,) which did so much of valuable medical information which should be in possession of every family. This little annual has become a welcome visitor to the fireside of the American people,—and not to them alone, for its numbers are freely circulated in almost every civilized country under the sun. It is published in the English, Prench, Spanish and German languages, with calendars adapt-Spanish and German languages, with calendars adapted to every meridian of the Northern Hemisphere. Over twenty-seven hundred thousand copies were issued the last year, which is doubtless the largest edition of any one book in the world. Our readers are respectfully invited to call and get a copy, and when

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Society, from Jan. 1, 1856, to Jan. 1, 1857.

Rec'd from balance of last year's account,
From donations and collections at annual
meeting in January. 380 98

Proceeds of National Anti-Slavery Bazaar in Bostom. 3723 68

Donations and collections at New England A. S. Convention in Bostom. 646 53

Abingtom A. S. Society. 257 00

Donations and collections at Fourth of
July celebration at Framingham. 46 75

Donations and collections at First of August celebration at Fington. 103 82

Proceeds of A. S. Fair at Worcester. 450 00

Proceeds of do. at Abington. 189 95

Treasurer, to re leem pledges. 200 00

Weymouth Female A. S. Society. 100 00

Reading Female A. S. Society. 100 00

John T. Hilton and Alfred G. Howard,
in trust, to be applied to specific par-

Total amount of receipts..... Disbursements during the same period. aid rent and taxes of office. 21 Cornhill... 353 96
Wm. W. Brown, for his services and expenses as Agent.
Robert P. Walleut, for his services in of-Robert F. Wallcut, for his services in office. 389 62
S. May, Jr., for his services and expenses as General Agent. 598 38
Expenses of Annual Meeting in Boston, 110 03
J. M. W. Verrinton, for reporting speeches at sundry meetings and Conventions
Sallie Holley, for services and expenses as Agent. 267 69

Postage bill
Expenses of Fourth July celebration at
Framingham
Expenses First of August celebration at
Abington
R. F. Wallcut's bill for books purchased
for offer 37 25

for office.

Fifty copies Liberator furnished members of Congress.

Deposited in the Provident Institution for Savings in Boston, in trust, for the Board to apply to uses specified by the donors. 159 60 by the donors....

Total amount of disbursements. \$8248 50 Leaving a balance in Treasury, 1st } 782 53

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Treasurer Mass. A. S. Society.
Brookline, Jan. 1, 1857.

Boston, Jan. 11, 1857. I have examined the foregoing account of the Treasurer, and find the same correct, and properly rouched.

EDMUND JACKSON, Auditor.

SPECIAL NOTICES.

ty, N. Y., until about Feb. 20th. Letters, &c., for her may be directed to the care of Wm. H. Fish, Cortland, Co., N. Y.

NEW YORK CAMPAIGN .- Anti-Slavery Conventions, under the auspices of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will be held in the State of New York

Bath, Steuben Co., Tuesday and Wednesday, Feb 10 and 11.

Belfast, Alleghany Co., Tuesday and Wednesday
Feb. 17 and 18.

Elliottville, Catt. Co., Tuesday and Wednesday, Feb

24 and 25.

To be attended by Stephen S. Foster, Benjamin S and J. Elizabeth Jones.

This brutal speech, it is said, excited considerable indignation and disgust in the House, but elicited no rebuke from any quarter A Springfield paper says:

'SAYAGE, member of Congress from Tennessee, is truly named. None but a genuine savage could have made the speech that he did, on Thursday, as a tribute to his deceased friend. His ruffianly words must have produced a shudder of horror in the most hardhearted, on such an occasion.'

L. D. Campbell, of Ohio, notorious for his two-facedness at a pretended Republican, spoke in a char-

Hepson Convention, at the New City Hall, Wednesday, Feb. 18. Sessions at 10 1-2, A. M., 2, P. M., and 71-2, evening. Day sessions free. Admission to the evening session 25 cents. Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, and Aaron M. Powell, to be in attackness.

NEW YORK STATE ANTI-SLAVERY CON-VENTION will be held at ALBANY, on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, Feb. 20, 21, 22d, at Associ-ation Hall—commencing at 2 o'clock, Friday, P. M. Admission to evening sessions 25 cents. Day ses-sions free.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, Charles Lenox Remond, Sarah P. Remond, Aaron M. Powell and Susan B. Anthony will attend.

Legion of Liberty.

THOMAS RYAN Residence, 15 Dix Place. Mr. R. visits pupils in Brookline twice a week.



CATHARTIC PILLS

OPERATE by their powerful influence on the internal viscera to purify the blood and stimulate it into healthy action. They remove the obstructions of the stomneh, bowels, liver, and other organs of the body, and, by restoring their inregular action to health, correct wherever they exist, such derangements as are the first causes of disease. An extensive trial of their virtues, by Professors, Physicians, and Patients, has shown cures of dangerous diseases almost beyond belief, were they not substantiated by persons of such exalted position and character as to forbid the suspicion of untruth. Their certificates are published in my American Almanac, which the Agents below named are pleased to furnish free to all inquiring.

Annexed we give Directions for their use in the complaints which they have been found to cure.

FOR COSTIVENESS.—Take one or two pills, or such quantity as to gently more the bowels. Costiveness is frequently the aggravating cause of Pales, and the cure of one complaint is the cure of both. No person can feel well while under a costive habit of body. Hence it should be, as it can be, promptly relieved.

FOR DYSPERSIA, which is sometimes the cause of Costiveness, and always uncomfortable, take mild doses of Costiveness, and always uncomfortable, take mild

you.

For a Four Stomage, or Morbid Inaction of the Bovels, which produces general depression of the spirits and bad health, take from four to eight Pills at first, and smaller doses afterwards, until activity and strength are restored to the system.

For Nervousness, Sick Headache, Nausea, Pain in the Stomach, Back, or Side, take from four to eight pills on going to bed. If therefore the system like the four the system believes the sufficient of the system of the system. Don't wear these and their kindred disorders because your stomach is foul.

these and their kindred disorders because your securis foul.

Fon Scrofula, Erysipelas, and all diseases of the Skin, take the Pills freely and frequently, to keep the bowels open. The eruptions will generally soon begin to diminish and disappear. Many dreadful ulcers and sores have been healed up by the purging and purifying effect of these Pills, and some disgusting diseases, which acemed to saturate the whole system, have completely yielded to their influence, leaving the sufferer in perfect health. Patients! your duty to society forbids that you should parade yourself around the world covered with pimples, blotches, ulcers, sores, and all or any of the unclean diseases of the skin, because your system wants cleansing.

ples, blotches, ulcers, sores, and all or any of the unclean diseases of the skin, because your system wants cleansing.

To PURITY THE BLOOD, they are the best medicine ever discovered. They should be taken freely and frequently, and the impurities which sow the seeds of incurable diseases will be swept out of the system like chaff before the wind. By this property they do as much good in preventing sickness as by the remarkable cures which they are making every where.

LIVER COMPLAINT, JAUNDICE, and all Bilious Affections arise from some derangement—either torpidity, congestion, or obstructions of the Liver. Torpidity and congestion vitate the bile, and render it unit for digestion. This is disastrous to the health, and the constitution is frequently undermined by no other cause. Indigestion is the symptom. Obstruction of the duct which empties the bile into the stomach causes the bile to overflow into the blood. This produces Jaundice, with a long and dangerous train of evils. Costiveness, or, alternately, costiveness and diarrhoa, prevails. Feverish symptoms, languor, low spirits, weariness, resitessness, and melancholy, with sometimes inability to sleep, and sometimes great drowsiness; sometimes there is severe pain in the side; the skin and the white of the eyes become a greenish yellow; the stomach acid; the bowels sore to the touch; the whole system irritable, with a tendency to fever, which may turn to bilious fever, bilious colic, bilious diarrhoa, dysentery, &c. A medium dose of three or four pills taken at night, followed by two or three in the morning, and repeated a few days, will remove the cause of all these troubles. It is wicked to suffer such pains when you can cure them for 25 cents.

Riedmatish, Gout, and all Inflammatory Feeers are rapidly cured by the purifying effects of these Fills upon the blood and the stimulus which they afford to the vital principle of Life. For these and all kinderd complaints they should be taken in mild doses, to move the bowels gently, but freely.

they should be taken in mild doses, to move the bowels gently, but freely.

As a DINNER PILL, this is both agreeable and useful. No pill can be made more pleasant to take, and certainly none has been made more effectual to the purpose for which a dinner pill is employed.

PREPARED BY J. C. AYER, Practical and Analytical Chemist,

THEODORE METCALF & CO., BREWER, STEVENS & CUSHING, Boston;

BROWN & PRICE, Salem; H. H. HAY, Portland;

J. N. MORTON & CO., Concord. N. H.:

And by Druggists and Dealers in Medicine every REDATEDUOT TO METER D12 6m

Heralds of Freedom.

'TRUTH, LOVE, JUSTICE' PUBLISHED THIS DAY,

BY C. H. BRAINARD, 124 Washington Street,

MAGNIFICENT lithographic Print, with the above title and motto, intended as a companion 'Champions of Freedom,'

in which are presented the Portraits of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

WENDELL PHILLIPS. THEODORE PARKER. RALPH WALDO EMERSON. GERRIT SMITH. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS. BAMUEL J. MAY.

These Portraits have been drawn in the highest style of the art by that unrivalled French artist, L. Grozelier, from daguerreotypes taken expressly for the purpose, and are the most faithful likenesses of the distinguished originals ever presented to the public.

Price, \$1 50.

F A copy of this admirable Print will be sent to any part of the United States, by mail, free of postage, and in a safe manner, at the same price it is selling in Boston—\$1.50. The companion to this, the 'Champions of Freedom,' will be sent to order on the same terms, and in the same manner.

Address C. H. BRAINARD, 124 Washington street, or W. C. NELL, office of The Liberator.

December 25.

DISSOLUTION COPARTNERSHIP. REUBEN H. OBER retires from our firm this A day, by mutual consent.

The business of the firm will be settled by either of the late partners. Those indebted will please call and adjust the same as soom as possible.

MOREY

DAVID B. MOREY, REUBEN H. OBER, THOMAS SMITH.

Boston, Jan. 1, 1857.

The business hereafter will be carried on under the style of MOREY & SMITH, who will continue to manufacture Block Tin and Britannia Ware; will also keep on hand a general assortment of Glass and Japanned Ware, at Nos. 5 and 7 Haverhill street, and would solicit a continuance of the patronage which has been so liberally bestowed on the late firm.

DAVID B. MOREY, Boston, January 1, 1857.

The United States Constitution, AND ITS

PRO-BLAVERY COMPROMISES.

PRO-SLAVERY COMPROMISES.

THE Constitution a Pro-Slavery Compact; or, Extracts from the Madison Papers, etc. Selected by WESTRELL PRILLIPS. Third Edition, Enlarged. 12 mo. 208 pages. Just published by the American Anti-Slavery Society, and for sale at 21 Cornhill, Boston, Also, at the Anti-Slavery Offices in New York and Philadelphia. Price, in cloth, 50 ets.; in thick paper covers, 374.

Copies of this work will be sent by mail on the receipt of its price and the amount of its postage, viz., forty-four cents for those in paper covers, sisty cents file those in cloth. Address the Anti-Slavery Office, 101 Cornhill, Bostom, or 138 Nassau street, N. Y. Boston, Feb. 1.

she affirms the , she helps to enalterous amalgahile she teacher nations of men, with merchandize merican Church ed in the recent

God, and in the

ing, she not only

millions of that

pagates a grapel ended system of

reference to that . The outward s will compel the us declaring these and, therefore, g reception every mas H. Benton, of Missouri, in e of this bloodsystem, and ad-ery discussion at

o New England has been degradentatives in Coning a unanimous reference to the he deceased the g that the memthe left arm for owing a Sarage, dastardly assault ord of horror or us stabbed Ciesar e thought of the world has ever ct; so shall the name of the de-to be remember-

the general loss ine sympathy for

ation of personal

fear and alarm, H. Benton, the o New England. icians, that 'the ey deem it to be y Wachusett or ng themselves to speech full of of the policy of

hese walls shall

seeking at first the Union, only ding imperiou great keenness, liculed the idea in the existing ared for it, save pon its pay. He nical power the illustrating hi Margaret Gar-nd Slavery canne to that cone day when we g compelled to remember the

demned as we test for Amerifore the Society ed, were unanillections by the Secretary, was

£1368 25.

Secretaries.

N. President.

and Anthony

THE ANNUAL the resolutions Henry Wilson James N. Buf-A. Wassen, of ended Mr. Wilnd in fact rath-

e would never nd thus imply-cause. He felt Vilson had not e, and further, r adherence to the Senate, he ade a shameful s; that he is a nd that his let-orcester was a however, that it of the slave, pirit and intest

of the other.
The letter is have written.

eans surprised rather delight-he is. We are to the slave; thanked God

T

ANTI-S

ROB

ETT

num, in

DOLLARS F A relating

be direct

erted th

Pennsylv

cieties at

LIBERAT.

cial Con

GRAY LA

and WE

WM.

VO.

REI

Previo

dent the great me lignant dential of Constitue It seen the Denvery, no tion and bly under

subject of we now gress sh never me

being ac sors alon who act

In conturbed r

try, the

to cons when we lition fa

its progration acq

may say submissi Union w characte

began to

of this d

except s

erties wi

alogue. ligious c syes. lution o

and new land—b totallers

this Cor America pulpits hell,' 'rights o

whose p

of content

the people safety a should

which a

to stand there is States, the diss

FA

POETRY.

THE SLAVE'S HOPE. Brother, hush these cries of sorrew! Hush these groans of wild despair ! List! there comes to us a morrow Bathed in Freedom's sunlight fair. Trembling hopes, uncertain, springing,

Whisper of a happy dawn, Like those half-waked birds, whose singing Prophesies the coming morn.

Doubt not-fear not, brother !- lifted Be thine eyes in faith and hope; See—the low'ring clouds are rifted— Soon our prison-doors shall ope ! Clustering constellations brighten,

Radiant with Freedom's light, Wh so immortal beams enlighten The dark noon of Slavery's night. Stands the old Bay State-God bless her !-Like Orion, stout and brave, Crying 'Woe!' to the oppressor,

Whispering 'Hope!' unto the slave. At the breath of Freedom blowing, A pure, rich Æolian strain Through the lyre-like pines is flowing, On the far-off hills of Maine.

Young Iowa, like Perseus, Springs across the heavenly plain With a flaming sword to free us From the Gorgon's hated chain How they gather fast and faster !

"Tis no meteor we see, For their burning hearts were lighted At the Sun of Liberty ! Soon thy soul shall rise, off-flinging

The degrading iron thrall, And from off thy right arm, ringing To the ground, thy fetters fall ! Then the wife upon thy bosom Shall be thine-and at thy knee. Thine own little ones shall blo

Like spring violets, pure and free. Freedom! can thy soul contain it? Canst thou grasp that thought of might? Free, my brother, God proclaims it ! Freeman in the heaven's free light!

Ellsworth, Me. For the Liberator. BE STRONG. Lulled by a promise, A sun-lighted promise That beckons before thee,-Yet, the night cometh ! Mortal, be strong ! Omnipotence sendeth A bolt and a blessing; The arrow may wound thee-The blessing shall heal thee; Each an Evangel,

> And neither of wrong That faith is sublimest Which shrinks from no trial: Which urges to battle With Doubt and with Darkness; That faith shall endure. The tempest may beat it, The tolt may assail it, The surges may lash it-Its Rock is Eternal-

Eternal and sure. Be truthful and trustful; Be hopeful and earnest; That when the Soul waits in The deep of the midnight That veils the Unseen, The soul-paining Silence, The darkness of Chaos, May never eclipse it, And thou pass the dread ordeal

Un wed and serene. Jan. 1, 1857. BATIRE ON DOUGHFACES

Such are the men who, with instinctive dread, Whenever Freedom lifts her drooping head, Make prophet tripods of their office-stools. And scare the nurseries and the village schools With dire presage of ruin grim and great, Such are the patriots, self-bound to the stake Of office, martyrs for their country's sake : Will fill themselves the hungry jaws of Fate, In the wide gulf themselves like Curtius throw, And test the virtues of cohesive dough : As tropic monkeys, linking heads and tails, Bridge o'er some torrent of Ecuador's vales! Such are the men who in your chambers rave, To swearing point, at mention of the slave, When some poor parson, haply unawares, Stammers of freedom in his timid prayers; Who, if some foot-sore negro through the town Steals Northward, volunteers to knock him down Or if some neighbor, flying from disease, Courts the mild balsam of the Southern breeze, With hue and cry pursue him on his track, And write Free Soil upon the poor man's back. Such are the men who leave the pedlar's cart, While passing South to learn the driver's art, Or in white neckeloth soothe with nious aim The graceful sorrows of some languid dame, Who, from the wreck of her bereavement, saves

The double charms of widowhood and slaves! Pliant and apt, they lose no chance to show To what base depths apostacy can go: Outdo the natives in their readiness To roast a negro or to mob a press; Poise a tarred schoolmate on the lyncher's rail. Or make a bonfire of their birth-place mail! some poor wretch, whose lips no longer hear The sacred burden of his mother's prayer, By fear impelled, or lust of gold enticed. Turns to the Crescent from the Cross of Christ; And, over-acting in superfluous zeal, Crawls prostrate where the faithful only kneel: Out-howls the Dervish, hugs his rags to court The squalid Santon's sanctity of dirt ! And when b neath the city gateway's span, Flies slow and long the Meccan caravan; And through its midst, pursued by Islam's prayers. The prophet's Word some favorite camel bears; The marked apostate has his place assigned The Koran bearer's sacred rump behind, With bush and pitcher following grave and mute, In meek attendance on the holy brute .- [WHITTIES

COMPLAINT AND REPROOF.

BY COLERIDGE. · How seldom, friend, a good great man inherits Honor and wealth, with all his worth and pains! It seems a story from the world of spirits When any man obtains that which he merit

Or any merits that which he obtains.

For shame, my friend ! renounce this idle strain : What wouldst then have a good great man obtain Wealth, title, dignity, a golden chain, Or heap of corses which his sword hath slain? ess and greatness are not means, but ends. Hath he not always treasures, always friends, The good great man? Three treasures,-love, and light And calm thoughts, equable as infant's breath; And three fast friends, more sure than day or night Himself, his Maker, and the Angel Death.

The Liberator.

SPEECH OF REV. T. W. HIGGINSON.

At the Disunion Convention held in the City Hall,

Worcester, January 15, 1857. THOROGRAPHIC REPORT BY MR. TERRINTON.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

stood here to thank anybody for coming to this plat-form, or to say to anybody that it should be recognized and honored as an act of courage. Mr. Presi-I owe everything to the cause.' When I think of all fessors and tutors, and compare it with what the radical abolitionists have taught me, the first seems too men whom you deride, friends, as fanatics and as fools, do you know they are the educators of you and your children? and do you know that the nings, or how trifling the aspect of a movement. time will come when Worcester will look back upon have lived to see a movement that began in an obhistory since the night when George Thompson, driven horizon: and are we to be disturbed by a few timid out of the first Cradle of Liberty in Boston, came to the second Cradle of Liberty, here in City Hall, and there stood here just now a man who stood alone in

cuss—with various antecedents, and various habits of in 1830. (Applause.) We, fellow-citizens of Woryears; others, men who have neverfailed to vote when nings lead to magnificent conclusions; for all of us they had a chance, and only regretted that the chances can remember the time when the whole Free Soil were not more frequent; some have come, like Mr. party of Massachusetts could have been brought into Garrison, believing the Constitution to be pro-slavery this hall, and a careless observer would have passed from beginning to end; others, like yourself, Sir, by the door, and thought there was nobody inside. (Dr. Mann,) believing it to be as thoroughly anti-sla- All the strength of an action depends upon the right both of these things, and some things more-being in- I am in the least danger in the position that I take, deed, as to slavery, what Mr. Bird believes the Phila- no matter if I am the weakest of mankind, and delphia platform was meant to be, for he says of that, stand alone, so long as truth be on my side; let truth as Tallyrand said of the French Constitution: 'It be against me, and though I have the world to back means nothing, and can mean nothing, for I made it me, I am powerless. We all talk of believing this, myself, on purpose.' (Laughter.) Sir, there is no but there is not one in a thousand who believes it for cept on the subject of anti-slavery, to which we re- us of that convention which talked so bravely in this joice to have devoted our hearts and lives, and which hall, twelve years ago, about dissolving the Union. we follow into disunion, because it leads us there, to- I have seen old Faneuil Hall echo, years ago, in reday. No one of us can enumerate all the causes that, sponse to sentiments as revolutionary as gradually working on our minds, have brought us to this clear vision at last, which shows us the nation's those sentiments did not mean any thing; now they danger and the nation's salvation. But I know my-self, that when I took part in issuing that call, I did not appreciate, as I now do, the importance of the ley, effected nothing? Every one of them drew a glit I heard the weak reasonings by which they try to shelter themselves against it. I did not know until then them had a neat little scabbard by his side, and when how soon those of us who thought ourselves safest tucked it back again, and there it has rested ever since. crumbling into disunion, with our friend here, the in 1848, undertook to take his out, and air it a little

this matter—if I had distrusted the instinct—if I had I will revolutionize the world. (Loud applause.) doubted the policy-if I had ignored the facts, that drive us to this position, they would all have been driven back into my soul, revived there forever by one You say we are 'weak,' 'powerless.' Are we? Give hour that I spent last week in the Athenæum Hall, us five years, and let us see. You say, 'O, they come in Boston, with the wreck of what was once Charles together, and try to get up a great flame; but some Sumner. When I stood before that noble form, once are old flints, that won't strike fire, and some are so strong and stately, now, even after months of convalescence, so weak and tottering-when I heard the heroic tones of that unchanged voice, and saw the lightning from those unblenching eyes, but remembered that there might never again be physical force enough for those superb powers to clothe themselves in their native eloquence—when I saw what Charles Sumner was longing to be, and what he was, O, then that stately form became an alter for me, an alter with live coals from heaven upon it, on which I could pledge myself, once and forevermore, to an eternal war against slavery. (Loud applause.)

There are many weaknesses to which the best of us say after election what they said before. I do not in-dulge that weakness very freely now; but when I think of the confessions made by the Republican party three months ago, and the positions of the men who now lead the statesmanship of the free States, why, I say there is nothing more necessary for our disunion arguments, than to take the scattered sentences of these men, and put them one by one together. The whole argument lies in a nut-shell. Again and again not learned something by the failure. (Applause.) has it been stated by Republican orators and presses, that 'the time might come' when disunion would indeed be necessary. Again and again has the picture papers, and all the bluster in Washington and out of been drawn of possible horrors and evils yet to be endured, the end of which might be this. Mr. Banks mmortalized himself, if he is destined to immortality at all, by that one sentence, in which he offered, 'in a certain contingency, to let the Union slide.' Well, all we have come here to-day for is, to see whether the time has not come to let the contingency slide. (Applause.)

all political efforts fail-when the North loses its power, when the government is delivered over, bound anything. hand and foot, to the slaveholders-then at last comes the period of disunion.' How is it now? Take the confessions of these very men-their statements, pub- respecting any movement. They know their politics lic and private, their explanations, their predictionsand we have all we need for the other premises of our no more. They know they wage war only on paper argument. Again and again did the same Republi- they do not know that these men, non-resistant can presses and orators volunteer the confession, in the words of the New York Times, that the election of Fremont was 'the last hope of freedom.' These, you papers—to go abroad in the streets armed only with a say, perhaps, were public statements, and, after elec-tion, of course, we admit that our orators, like the other orators, may sometimes have spoken for effect. Did correcting;) but when a man is in the position of that the same men speak only for effect, when, in private Portuguese soldier at the battle of Goa, bearing a barconversation with personal and political friends, they rel of gunpowder in his arms, and a lighted torch in made the same admissions? Every gentleman of the his teeth, and crying out at the same time, 'Make way Republican party here has heard it admitted in con- make way! I carry with me the lives of a thousand versation among Republicans, before election, that, in men ';-when men, like Garrison and Phillips, are encase of defeat this time, it would be scarcely possi-ble for the party to rally successfully again. Henry Wilson himself told me that, in Washington street, in ington, post-haste, and says they had better keep still. the city of Boston, a year ago this last summer. I they will damage the anti-slavery cause? (Applause. have heard from high authority, that a few weeks be- No, sir; disunion is not a desire, merely; it is fore the election, Mr. Banks said to his friends, 'This destiny. It is in vain to talk of difficulties in effectelection decides the politics of the country for the ing the process. The laws of human nature are taking next thirty years.' And yet you talk about the Re- care of those difficulties very rapidly. If our calcu publican party rallying in 1860! Do you know more lations are correct, it will be easier to hasten than to those men have been wrong before, and may be wrong determine itself as soon as we are ready for it. now, ask yourselves if they have ever underrated the used to call Southern Iowa the darkest spot in the strength of the party to which they belone?

More than this : are you not aware, that those of that State, and laid my hand upon the earth : at every you who profess to know all about the pulling of the where the soil was hot and hotter with the suppresse wires, that the recent condition of the parties at the volcano. I tell you, let another war come in Presidential election, instead of being any thing and no power on earth can prevent a border war be strange, unexpected, contrary to all the dreams tween Missouri and Iowa. The line will be drawn of the Democratic party and of the South, baf. for us soon enough by the passions of men. The calm fling all their calculations and frightening their wits deliberations of conventions like these, only prepar out of them; instead of this, was a thing expected, the way for it. If we cannot bring it about peaceably predicted, calculated upon by the Democratic party it will come forcibly, that is all. The great forces of four years ago? If you do not know it, I do. If there nature are sufficient. The vast antagonistic powers

tell him that his leaders are shrewder men than their Republican compatriots give them credit for being. About the time of the election of General Pierce, appened to be in conversation with a gentleman wh is now a Senator of the United States. He had just come from a conversation with leading Democratic politicians, the chosen advisers of President Pierce who had met together in New Hampshire, to map ou the future policy of the administration. And what was that policy? To identify the Democratic party LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I heard almost every word that was spoken in this the only source of political power, these men reason. hall this morning with pleasure, until Mr. Garrison ed, and they ressoned from experience. 'We must have the South on our side; if we have that, we can risk everything.' 'We may lose the North,' somebody suggested. 'Very likely we shall lose it, dent, if such tributes are to be paid, I beg leave, once was the answer. 'We may lose every Northern State, for all, to renounce my share of them. It is honor enough to stand upon the platform at all, to speak for upon my memory; 'no matter! if we have got the the cause we advocate to-day, and if there were real- South, we have got the real power, and can always ly dangers around us, it would be a thing to be still command votes enough to keep it; and the Northern more grateful for. I desire to have it distinctly un- States will either have to come sneaking back to us derstood, for one, that I endorse the brave words of Oliver Johnson: 'The cause owes me nothing, but is what leading politicians said four years ago; and I owe everything to the cause.' When I think of all that I have been able to learn from colleges and pro-

We have got to go deeper and deeper yet, before light a thing to weigh in the balance at all. These we get hold of the principle that rules the states manship of America.

Mr. Chairman, I do not care how small the begin this Disunion Convention as the proudest spot in her scure corner, gradually rising until it fills the whole made it rock as it never rocked before? (Applause.) the Union twenty-five years ago; and now fourteen We have come here to-day, Mr. President, with hundred thousand voters, in solemn act, record their very different views on the subject we meet to dis-Some of us are men who have not voted for cester, of all others, should know what small beginvery: and yet others, like myself, believing it to be which lies behind it. You cannot convince me that common creed among us who stand here to-day, ex- one hour out of the twenty-four. Mr. May has told movement. I did not know how near the people of tering blade, and waved it until the whole air seemed Massachusetts are to disunion. I did not know until to flash with enthusiastic resolution. Why didn't it how thin the soil was growing beneath our feet, and he had done waving his blade for popular effect, he would be likely to break through the crust, and go You know what a stir was made when Charles Allen, senior editor of the Spy at the head. (Laughter and the others seemed to have all rusted in. But give me a convention of ten men who have drawn the Mr. Chairman, if I had felt careless or heedless upon sword for the right, and thrown away the scabbard, and

> You say, we are 'traitors,' 'fanatics.' That is wha we came here to be. That is a clear compliment. young steel, that won't give out sparks; the tinder is a little damp, and if we only throw a little more water upon it, they won't get any fire.' Well, the steel may be bad, and the flint useless, perhaps; all we ask is, open the doors of your powder magazine and let us try. Will you do it?

I tell you, friends and fellow-citizens, that there are men on this platform, to whom these thoughts that are new to many of us to-day, have been the delibe rate purpose of years; and there are other men here who have embraced them so earnestly, that in their hearts the work of years has been done in a day. How re subject, and one is, that of believing that men will many years is it since, in the city of Boston, the action country to the very verge of civil war? Unprepared.

> Mr. Chairman, the difficulty that I find in ou operations thus far is, that all the talk in the newser it means anything. Talk of treason! Why. I have been trying for ten years to get the opportunity to commit treason, and have not found it yet. brings us here to-day is the hope that, by the bless ing of Providence, as things are getting further on somewhere or other, here or at Boston, in Kanzas or at Washington, there may be an opening by which we may come face to face with this slave power, which calls itself a government, and see if its threats mean

> The reason why the newspapers do not respect this movement is, that they have got out of the habit of don't mean anything; they suspect other men men

about it than Henry Wilson? Are you better judges postpone it. The geographical line of division, about of statisties than Mr. Speaker Banks? If you say which some of ourcorrespondents are so anxious, will free States. Last summer, I went along the borders of is a Democrat who was not aware of the fact, let me are brought into collision—the carthquake comes-

God's name let it come quickly! (Applause.)

SPEECH OF FRANCIS W. BIRD, ESQ.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I read this morning, in the New York Tribune, an extract from the Worcester Ægis, which, as it illustrates the present condition of things about us, I will

humblest members of the Republican party of the last ses and Republican leaders. The Providence Journal campaign, and one of the humblest members of the says:political organization that may hereafter be called to act politically against slavery, I desired to enter my protest against the construction which representative separation between the free and slave States, and to sentatives of the Republican party are doing at Washington. You do not know how leading Republicans at Washington are selling out the party. God knows, the Philadelphia platform is low enough; but it took in the Senate :- In the public press, and before the at least one step in advance of all other platforms.

For the first time in the history of political parties in were for the Union; and if any man, North or South, our country, it made this one issue with the Slave Power. We declared ourselves to be a party of one the power, traitor deaths, and leave traitor names in idea, recognizing the fact, that no political party can have more than one paramount idea. The old Whig and Democratic parties professed other issues, but the our Buffalo platform, because, as they said, it congress? Representative Republicans in Congress de-clare before the country and the world, that the Republican party do not intend ever to interfere with I say to that Senator-I say to all, that it was intendbe preserved '-to cover that and other questions of dissolution is possible. State rights.' I simply desire to enter my protest, as one of the delegates to the Philadelphia Convention, against this construction of the 'intentions' of that Convention. We did not 'intend' that 'State rights'

rights of the States—the right of the Southern States, now, give us any rights as members of the Northern if they choose to hold men in slavery'! This is portion of the Union. It never was worth any thing Gen. Wilson's notion of State rights-with his private opinion we make no quarrel; but such is not the of the government, our fathers, having just emerged

erate and reasonable position, to abandon the ex- aggressions. That necessity no longer exists; and it treme notions which those men (Wendell Phillips, &c.) seems to me that no sane and sensible man, who looks entertain, banish the negro discussions we are having in upon this matter apart from any political aspirations these Halls, and leave Slavery in the States where the can make himself believe that this Union is of any Constitution leaves it, to the care of the people of value to any body in the free States now. Still those several States. I believe that when that is done, it is an existing fact, and I cannot see where the the liberal, high-minded, just men of the South will, division is to take place. But that freedom and in their own time, and in their own way, bring about slavery can exist under this form of government safe emancipation '!

Mr. HALE says- The Republican party believe that in the States they have no more right to meddle me impossible. It cannot be. with slavery than they have to meddle with it in Turkey or Russia.' The Republican party never said that; and a great many of them do not believe it. form had announced that doctrine.

Again he says- I have said, over and over again, speaking in my representative character as a Senator on this floor, I have no desire to meddle with slavery is necessary, inevitable, and that unless slavery is in the States-not the slightest.' Yet he adds-'I I do not want it. I would not take it if I could have it. and then that public opinion will find an effective form appealing to the enlightened consciences of those who it ever was before, but it lacks efficient organization

Says Mr. SHERMAN of Ohio- If I had my voice, the Northern States. I act with the Republican par- and the assault upon Mr. Sumner, to have annihilate ty, with hundreds of thousands of others, merely bemise the Republican party resists the extension, but does not seek the abolition of slavery.'

I might multiply similar quotations from speeche of prominent Republicans at Washington; all, with THEODORE PARKER AT MANCHESTER only the exceptions of Gov. SEWARD in the Senate, Rev. Theodore Parker of this city, was engaged to and breve 'Old Grp.' in the House, take the same lecture before the Lyceum at Manchester, N. H., las ground, that the Republican party never intends to week. Clergymen of that city protested against his take a step in advance. I came here to-day expressly appearance as a lecturer, and wrote the following letto utter my public protest, as a Republican, against ter:-

this construction of our platform. It is worse than To the Directors of the Manchester Lyceum: idle for politicians to declare what they will or will not do hereafter. They are mere waits upon the sur-face of the mighty stream of ideas. Man proposes, lecturers for odore Parker. but God disposes

and all we disunionists say is-if it is coming, in that our duty, as Republicans, is to prepare for the future. The verdict of the country has been rendered in favor of the pretended principles of the Nebraska Bill. Slavery goes wherever the people choose to carry it. The decision of the Supreme Court, in the Scott case, is soon to be given, affirming the extreme Southern doctrine, that slavery goes everywhere under the Federal flag. These are the iss have got to meet, in the ballot-box or out of it, under the Constitution or over it, in the Union or out of it; and it is of no use for politicians at Washington to possessed the New England heart of its natural decency, that it requires more moral courage in a son of old Massachusetts, or of the Granite State, to stand upon the Massachusetts, or of the Granite State, to stand upon public policy, if they do not accord with the whisperings of political demagogues and partians in the popular ear, than it would for Foster or Garrison to address a meeting under the very nose of Henry A. Wise. The time is coming, we patriotically trust, when the circumstance will not so exist; but at present there is no denying its presence and vitality.

Of course, my friends no man who has been in Of course, my friends, no man who has been in not be arrested as traitors, under the construction put politics as long as I have, no man who has been engaged in business as long as I have, is unaware of the fact, that it is as much as a man's political page-pects and business prosperity are worth, (unless his position as a business man is perfectly assured,) and as much as his social position is worth, to differ from a perfect right to meet, if they would. But our right his neighbors upon any question in this community.

Still, I have felt, for the last four or five weeks, and particularly for the two last weeks, that as one of the

'The Northern Disunionists will hold their Conact politically against slavery, I desired to enter my protest against the construction which representative Republicans are putting upon the Republican platform, upon the present position of the party, and upon their future intentions. I undertake to say to my friends who belong to the Republican party, and who read no other papers but those of Boston or Massachuter which is a such other papers but those of Boston or Massachuter which is a such of the South, and unlike them, wanting the sympathy of any considerable portion of their

Gen. Wilson converts the whole Republican party into hangmen, in the following extract from his speech laid their hands upon it, they should die, if we had

Now, if that means anything at all, if it is not the merest brutum fulmen that ever a child uttered, it real fact was, that there was but one idea in their plat- means that if Gen. Wilson and the Republicans had forms, and that was, which should most actively per- the power, they would hang every one of us upon the form the behests of slavery. They ridiculed us for next tree. They proclaim us traitors, because we are laying hands upon this Union. I say Liberty and ed but one idea; whereas, the only trouble with Union, if it may be; Liberty first, and Union after that platform was, that it attempted to present other issues. I say the Philadelphia Convention took the the Constitution, if possible; but Liberty out of the position of opposition to the extension of slavery as Union and over the Constitution, if it must be. Libtheir one idea; but the Philadelphia Convention did erty any how, and that speedily! (Loud applause. not estop us from going further. There is not a word If that be treason, let Gen. Wilson and Franklin in it which prevents those who accept Lysander Pierce 'make the most of it'! These declarations Spooner's doctrine, that the Constitution is an Anti-Spooner's doctrine, that the Constitution is an Anti-Slavery instrument, and that under it we can, when-ever we get the power, abolish slavery, from standing on that platform. But what say our friends in Con-Congress. We must not assume that it is mere idle

Gentlemen, I occupy this position altogether unex slavery in the States; that they do not desire to do pectedly to myself. I came here entirely as a private it; that if they had the power, they would not exere it; that if they believed the Constitution gave say a few words, somewhat differently from what I the Federal Government power to abolish slavery, they have said. But I have felt that it is time that thi would not vote for it. Says Gen. Wilson. Senators have declared on this floor, that we have not disclaimed the right to interfere with slavery in the mission of this nation is Freedom, and who go for the States. I understand the Senator from Ohio, (Mr. abolition of slavery at the price of dissolution, if need Pugh,) to say that we have not made that disclaimer. be. At the same time, I do not believe that a dissolu tion of the Union is to be hastened or retarded by any ed by this expression—'The rights of the States shall acts of ours, or of the Union-savers. I do not see how

I look upon the map, and I do not see where yo can find the geographical line of division. Of cours I believe, with every intelligent man, in the eternal antagonism between freedom and slavery. There is means the right to enslave men and women. If we no Union between the North and the South. We have no rights. This Union never did, does not now, Gen. Wilson says further- We vindicate the and never can, governed by the same influences as to the free States, except that, at the comme doctrine of the Philadelphia platform.

Again he says—' I am opposed to slavery. I am in favor of its abolition everywhere where I have the power'—(the trouble is, he disclaims the power to from the Revolutionary war, felt the necessity of much longer, so long as I believe there is a God in heaven, so long as I believe in eternal right, seems

Gentlemen say, ' We do not propose to meddle with slavery in the States. In the progress of ages, it may be abolished, but we shall not interfere with it.' and would not have acted with the party if the plat- any man who believes in God and right believe that these four millions of slaves can increase to eight millions, in the next generation, and this government hold together? It seems to me that the antagonis speedily abolished, a separation, in some form or other desire to see slavery abolished; and then says, I do must come. How it is to come, I do not know. My not desire to see the Constitution amended to give me only hope is in framing a public opinion at the North the power to do it. I disclaim the power entirely. as true to freedom as that of the South is to slavery, The responsibility of what I now have to do is quite enough for me. But the way I want it done is, by There was opposition enough to slavery excited by the repeated outrages of the Slave Power in Congress, the would not have one single political Abolitionist in passage of the Nebraska Bill, the Kansas outrages, the Slave Power, if it had been allowed to exert itself. The jar was charged overwhelmingly, and if the wires had been directed to the citadel of slavery, it would Mr. Smith of Tennessee asked-'Do I understand have been blown to atoms; but the operators conductthe gentleman to say that he does not desire to see the Abolitionists succeed?'

desire to see the We need an efficient organization of the anti-slavery Mr. Sherman-I do not desire to see them suc- sentiment of the free States. Is it possible? I leave this to others wiser than myself to decide.

idle for politicians to declare what they will or will Gentlemen,—The undersigned, members of the not do hereafter. They are mere waifs upon the sur-clergy, observe with deep regret in your list of odore Parker. We had hoped that your honorable organization would never again compromise the respect due to the Christian religion by the employically, against the extension of slavery. It has been fought and lost. No intelligent man doubts been fought and lost. No intelligent man doubts that. The verdict of the country has been given unequivocally in favor of the extension of slavery. unequivocally in favor of the extension of sla-very. It cannot be denied that this is the practical we wish, gentlemen, for ourselves and many others, result of the last campaign. The only question now for the sake of that religion which claims the re-s, what are we to do? Are we to stand still—the same of all and the religion which claims the reis, what are we to do? Are we to stand still—those of us who act under the Constitution—and fight over dead issues as the Whig party did over banks, tariffs, and sub-treasuries, or are we, as intelligent, progressive men, to prepare to meet the coming crisis? I hold Jesus Christ, and who is thus directly undermining

the foundations of society, ought not to receive your the foundations of society, ought not to receive your official and public endorsement, as a fit guide in public sentiment, and thereby gain additional infinence to spread his skepticism. We urge another and even more decided reason: Mr. Parker is bold and unscrupulous. By frequent implications of assertions, he violates the neutral ground of the lecture-room. One of the last lectures by him before you—his lecture on progress—contained sontiments distinctly in conflict with the fact of a Revelation from God, and with its contents.

Whatever may be his qualifications in other

lation from God, and with its contents.

Whatever may be his qualifications in other respects, we think that such a man has forfeited his claim to be employed as a lecturer by the chief literary organization of a Christian city. And we believe that if such a selection has been made, for the sake of increasing the revenues of the Lyceum, regardless of the consequences to the community won may be see that reserved.

regardless of the consequences to the Lycon, regardless of the consequences to the community, you may yet see that pecuniary gain can be purchased at too dear a rate.

Gentlemen, we beg leave to present this subject to your most serious attention, with the hope that if the circumstances will permit, the arrangements may still be changed. We are yours, most respectfully. dly. (Signed) C. W. Wallace, H. H. Hartwell, R. C.

Bartlett, J. M. Coburn, J. G. Hubbard, C. W. Manchester, Dec. 25, 1856.

The Mirror publishes the reply of the Executive Committee of the Lyceum, through Mr. Joseph Kidder, their President. They have unanimously agreed that they cannot adopt the course suggested in the protest. In this reply they say:—

Our association is composed of men holding a great variety of opinions, and it allows the largest liberty of thought and of speech. As a society we inderty of thought and of epecen. As a society we endorse no lecturer's opinion, but are content to give all men whom the literary public of Manchester desire to hear, and whom we can induce for a reasonable compensation to appear before us, a fair field and a candid hearing, having confidence in that pub-lic that it is able to discriminate between truth and error, and that any unscrupulous violation of the neutral ground of the lecture room, so far from ad-vancing, will only injure the cause it is meant to

promote.
'While there is, perhaps, no member of our committee who can be considered as endorsing Mr. Par-ker's peculiar views, but, on the contrary, there are ker's peculiar views, but, on the contrary, there are many who are equally decided with yourselves in the condemnation of those views, we yet believe that truth is mighty, and will prevail; that it can, occasionally, afford to be generous, and to give a candid hearing on neutral subjects, even to the advocate of error; and if, as may sometimes occur, a bold and unscrupulous man, by implication or assertion, advantaged to the subject of the same and impute at war with the trubs of the inscrupations man, by implication or assertion, ad-nances sentiments at war with the truths of the Christian religion, we recollect that that religion has in our city able and fearless champions,

'We recollect that, on every Sabbath day, you come before our people, standing on no neutral ground, but, on the contrary, having the utmost liberty, nay, absolutely required by considerations the most solemn and momentous to contend carnest ly for what you believe the Eternal Truth of God.

If it be so, it is invulnerable, and neither covert implication nor bold asseveration can subvert it, should therefore be paying but a sorry compline either to you personally, or to the doctrine you advocate, by withdrawing Mr. Parker from before a Manchester audience for such

'The protest of a citizen' was offered against the protest presented above, and is as follows:

To the Directors of the Manchester Lyceum :-Gentlemen,-While cherishing, I trust, kindly feelings towards the Reverend gentlemen who re-monstrate against the right of Mr. Parker to lec-ture before the Lyceum, and regretting the occasion for any animadversion to the course touching your action thereon; yet, prompted by consideration affecting freedom of thought, opinion and speech, I enter my protest against the propriety, may even right of those Reverend gentlemen to attempt to control your action in this matter. Their metics are no doubt good; yet, if they fear one Lyceum lecture from Theodore Parker will efface the fruits of their united labors for twelve months in this of their united moors for twelve months in this 'Christian city,' then they had better turn their attention to something else besides preaching, as the presumption will be inevitable that they have mistaken their vocation. If six hundred exangilical sermons can be spoiled by the delivering of one Lyceum lecture, of but an hour's duration, then ther recture, or but an nour s curation, then there must be something 'rotten in Denmark'—some 'screw loose' in the pulpit machinery, which need tightening. The plea that Mr. Parker 'violated the neutral ground of the lecture-room' in his lecture on 'Progress,' is astonishingly unjust. That he went behind the Revelation to the Hebrews to the Revelation of Nature, which has more than once, in the development of science, corrected the interpretation of the former, is true; but I have yet b learn that that lecture vitiated anybody's faith in the fact of a Revelation from God; 'though I rejoic to know he gave a broader scope to our mental, nay, spiritual vision, by leading us into beautiful fields of thought, outside, if not above, these gentlemen's plane of vision.

They denounce the Catholic priesthood for the bitter tears at the slavishness and ignorance of Catholic masses; yet, with an assumption really astonishing, they would in another way, to be sure, do the same thing. They profess the same so tude for the Lyceum; possibly they have yet to learn that partizan dictation has already made it a concern, to sustain which, you and I, have been made to bleed freely in the cocket. While a member of the Board of Direct ion, I twice presented the name of Mr. Parker as a lecturer, but his religious notions not squarin with the Board, he was rejected; though no lec his religious notions not squaring turer ever addressed a Manchester audience whose theme evinced a deeper or truer desire for the adwas more acceptable to the people. this course was a loss of public confidence—and hence, the balance was found on the wrong side of the Treasurer's account at the close of

You, gentlemen, profiting by the errors of year predecessors, have this season engaged Mr. Parker roll, gentlemen, promising by the predecessors, Have this season engaged Mr. Parker to lecture, and hence this remonstrance from six of the evangelical elergy, a portion of whom are not members of the Lyceum, and not hearing Mr. Parker's lecture on 'Progress,' subscribed to what they were personally ignorant of. Rev. Mr. Strait, of the Free Will Baptist Church, refused to sign the re-monstrance—for which he is entitled to the thanks of every friend of freedom. Rev. Lyman Beecher was once invited to a consultation of the Evangel cal Clergy of Boston, as to the best means of sta ing the influence of Mr. Parker's preaching apprised of the object of the meeting, he, it stance, very gravely informed them that Mr. ker was doing his own work. ker was doing his own work in his own way; let them but be as faithful to their mission, and their apprehensions would cease. They took count his advice, and pocketed their fears. Had Mr. Strait's example been followed, these gentlemen would have been saved this occasion of appearing ridiculous,—for a false position is always a ridiculous.

The friends of liberal Christianity-patrons the Lyceum—could as consistently have objected a lecture from the Rev. Mr. Wallace, because religious faith is not in consonance with theirs, as could be and his contemporaries object to the right of Mr. Parker to lecture, notions do not square with theirs. The Lyceun ground is an open one, and he who attempts to fence it in with sectarian rails, will make very crooke work of it. The history of the Lyceum teaches to every careful observer, that to be sustained, it must be ade a live institution; its lecturers must free men; no sectarian tape can be permitted to span their dimensions; no priestly censorship be placed over them. It is an institution designed to instruct and edify the masses:—failing to do this,

it will, as it ought, to die. I will, as it ought, to dis.

In closing, permit me, gentlemen, to tender to ou the thanks of the masses for your wise manage out the thanks of the masses for your wise management of the Lyceum this season; and especially are ment of the Lyceum this season; and exercing of praise for your rejection of the wishes of these remonstrants. Had you listened to their behests, and again put shackles upon it, it could not have outlived, had it lived out, the lecture season. And its epitaph would have read—

'Died from a second attack of bigotry'.

With high considerations JOHN L. KELLEY.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, 21 Cornhill PRINTERS; BOSTON and we engraft Noth secuted have d come for derminito tatte

med up them a abolitic sists so ma, and ty and the free there he ples, a zeal of lighted ble for Ther ples of of soci one with he sacrous such all pustands his cou

own er

one gu
one st
which
neight
consan
patrio
lated;
pudiat
Jehov
slaver
which
when;
party
States
species
The
which
lish, eslaver